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THE DIVERSIONS

OF

A PRIME MINISTER

BY

BASIL THOMSON

AUTHOR OF 'SOUTH SEA YARNS'

WITH A MAP

NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS BY J. W. CAWSTON AND OTHERS
AND REPRODUCTIONS OF RARE PLATES OF EARLY VOYAGES
OF XVIITH AND XVIIITH CENTURIES

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WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
MDCCCXCIV

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TO

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GEORGE TUKUAHO, GEORGE FATAFEHI,
WILLIAM TUNGI, AND ASIBELI KUBU,

TO WHOSE

TACT AND UNSELFISH DEVOTION TO DUTY

WAS DUE THE SUCCESS OF OUR JOINT ENTERPRISE

This Chronicle

IS AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED.

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PREFACE.

131 For the benefit of those to whom the name Tonga has an unmeaning sound, and latitude and longitude convey no distinct impression, let me say that the realm of King George Tubou will be found in the map under the name of the "Friendly Islands," about 1000 miles north of New Zealand, 300 miles east of Fiji, and 350 south of Samoa.

114 I count among the Tongans so many true friends that it would touch me nearly if I should seem in the following pages to have been lacking in recognition of their many admirable qualities. If I have spoken of their institutions with levity, it is because I have judged the nation from the standard of a European people, with whom, in intelligence, physique, and disposition, they are fit to be compared. I have printed these pages with the knowledge and permission of the chiefs best fitted to speak for the whole people; and when I refuse to treat seriously the fatal experiment of engrafting Western customs upon their own ancient and admirable polity,

114 I am only reproducing the sense of grotesqueness with which their present hybrid institutions inspire the best of them. Where I have laughed, they have laughed with me; what I have deplored, they have no less regretted.

For the materials of the slight historical sketch I am specially indebted to Tukuaho, Tungi, and Fatafehi; and I take this opportunity for thanking the Hon. Bolton Corney, M.D., by whose kindness I am able to reproduce the rare plates of Schouten's voyage.

ASCOT, *November* 1894.

CONTENTS.

000

PAGE
I. A BLOODLESS REVOLUTION 1
II. HOW I TOOK OFFICE 26
III. THE SHIP OF STATE AND HER CREW . . . 34
IV. HOW I FARED AT COURT 50
V. HOW I BECAME A PRIVY COUNCILLOR . . . 65
VI. THE POLITICAL USES OF A STATE CHURCH . . 73
VII. MEETINGS ORDINARY AND EXTRAORDINARY . . 85
VIII. CONVICTS AND POLICE 105
IX. A SCHOOL OF COOKERY FOR ACCOUNTANTS . . 118
X. THE WOLF AT THE DOOR 143
XI. VAVAU 161
XII. MISSIONARIES 185
XIII. *ODIUM THEOLOGICUM* 204
XIV. AMATEUR LAW-GIVING 220
XV. INCUBATION 234
XVI. LORDS AND COMMONS IN COUNCIL . . . 247
POSTSCRIPT 285

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

OOO A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF TONGA—

I. THE BORDERLAND OF MYTH 291
II. THE COMING OF THE FOREIGNERS 308
III. THE REVOLUTION 321
IV. KING GEORGE 342
THINGS ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ZOOLOGICAL 369

APPENDIX—

I. LIST OF THE TUI TONGA 395
II. TRANSLATION OF EXTRACTS FROM THE 'JOURNAL OF THE WONDERFUL VOYAGE MADE BY W. CORNELIS SCHOUTEN OF HOORN, 1615-17' 396
III. TABLE SHOWING GENEALOGY OF THE CHIEFS NEAREST TO THE THRONE OF TONGA 404

INDEX 405

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

000

	PAGE
"I AM MINISTER OF FINANCE"	23
ONE OF THE EXILES	29
NUKUALOFA	30
GEORGE TUKUAHO	35
"HE PLUNGED AT THE CURTAIN HEAD-FOREMOST"	47
THE KING'S KAVA-RING	52
"HE PAID US A VISIT IN A HAND-CART"	59
KING GEORGE TUBOU	66
THE FIRST CHOIR	74
"THE LORD HAS GOT MY SOUL!"	76
"HE TORE OPEN HIS SHIRT"	77
"WHEN MARY 'TOLD HER SOUL'"	79
TOFUA IN ERUPTION	83
ASIBELI KUBU, MINISTER OF POLICE	95
SATEKI	96
THE LORD CHIEF-JUSTICE	97
"FEED ME, AND I WILL SIT IN MY OFFICE ALL DAY"	99
A CARD-PARTY IN THE JAIL	110
PROMOTION-HUNTING	113
A DYING ART AND A LOST KEY	125
"HE HAD WITH HIM HIS BOOKS FOR THE LAST THREE YEARS"	141

ooo

THE MAGIC-LANTERN IN TONGA—"THIS IS THE COW WITH THE CRUMPLED HORN" 145
LOBASE 148
"THERE WAS AN ANIMATED DISCUSSION" . . . 158
A GIRL OF VAVAU 162
"MANASE TOOK IT ALL IN SILENCE" 168
THE LIKU IN TONGATABU 171
MOURNING 172
"HE WAS DISCOVERED BY A PARTY OF GIRLS" . . . 177
"SENDING UP A THICK COLUMN OF SMOKE TO THE LEAFY CHIMNEY" 180
"LET NOT THY LEFT HAND KNOW WHAT THY RIGHT HAND DOETH" 188
"TO WIN ONE MORE YELL OF APPLAUSE" . . . 191
A TONGAN SCHOOLGIRL 194
COMBS 201
A GIANT YAM 221
A BEAUTY SHOW 248
"THE FAINT TAP OF THE *GATU* MALLETS" 250
"KOE TU'I!" 253
PORTRAIT OF KING GEORGE TUBOU 255
THE CLERK OF THE PARLIAMENT 257
ONE OF THE ELECT 261
"THE SERGEANT-AT-ARMS CREEPS STEALTHILY TOWARDS THE LORDS" 263
"SHE FLED SWIFTLY UP THE SAND" 296
"THERE HAD BEEN NO OTHER WOMAN BORN INTO THE WORLD SO FAIR AS SHE" 299
THE TOMB OF A KING 300
THE *TONGIAKI*, THE CANOE, NOW OBSOLETE, IN WHICH THE EARLY VOYAGES OF THE TONGANS WERE MADE . . 308

000

THE DISCOVERY OF NIUA-TOBUTABU BY SCHOUTEN AND LEMAIRE, 1616 310
SCHOUTEN AND LEMAIRE BUYING PROVISIONS IN FUTUNA, 1616, SHOWING ANCIENT MODE OF WEARING THE HAIR . . 311
AN UNPROVOKED ATTACK BY SCHOUTEN UPON A *TONGIAKI* OFF NIUA, MAY 1616 312
A *BOMÉE* OR NIGHT-DANCE AT HAAPAI, JUNE 1777 . . 315
THE GREAT *INAJI* AT WHICH CAPTAIN COOK WAS PRESENT, JUNE 1777 317
A WARRIOR OF FIJI 319
THE TUI TONGA'S FISH-HOOK 322
FINAU ULUKALALA, THE REBEL, AFTER LABILLARDIÈRE. . 339
A *TAFAANGA* IN THE SURF. 343
THE HAAMONGA MONUMENT 393

MAP . . . . *at end*

[p. xiv is blank]

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[p. xv]
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THE

DIVERSIONS OF A PRIME MINISTER.

I.

A BLOODLESS REVOLUTION.

648

THE High Commissioner had sailed for Tonga in H.M.S. Rapid. His official visits to the island kingdom had generally been so uneventful, that for the first three weeks of his absence from Suva the public interest in his movements had been languid; but when the day appointed for his return had passed, and Saimone of the signal-station had swept the southern horizon in vain for a fortnight, "the beach" began to occupy itself with the usual pessimistic speculations. The Rapid had run short of coal—had broken down—was piled up on a new reef: King George was dead at last, and there was a row among the natives: Baker had been shot at again, and was hit this time. To the professional news-mongers of the beach only one

648 suggestion did not occur—namely, that the "Honourable and Reverend" Shirley Waldemar Baker, First Minister of the king and the State Church, had fallen from his high estate, and had been removed from the little kingdom where he had so long ruled the natives for their good and his own profit.

The tongue of rumour was hushed at last. Suva awoke one morning to find the Red Cross fluttering from the signal-staff, and her Majesty's ship, ironically christened
[797] the Rapid, creeping slowly along the reef. Almost before the yellow flag had been hauled down the news flashed along the beach that Baker had indeed fallen, and could not again set foot in Tonga for two years on pain of imprisonment.

128 A sketch of the events of the last few years cannot be avoided, but it shall be a sketch in outline only.

797 When George Tubou became king in 1845 his people were in the white-heat of a conversion to Christianity.
[212] The missionaries had taught them to read and write, and
[671] to pass a simple code of law. They had imbued them with
797 envy of the dignity of civilised States,—their law courts,
177 their police, the uniforms and salaries of their officials,
178 and their other blessings of civilisation—including taxes. All these the Tongans might have if they were shown how to begin. For years there was no one to direct their nascent aspirations. Their teachers had no enterprise, and devoted themselves to the spiritual rather than the temporal needs of their flock; but at last with the necessity came the man. Mr Baker was a genius in his way. None knew better than he how to work upon the feelings of his congregation, or could better gauge the exact

moment to send round the collection-plate. None could 797
lay out the funds thus collected in church-building with 177
better effect. None was so jealous of the honour and in- 178
dependence of Tonga, warning her when any of the great
nations cast greedy eyes upon her emerald shores. He [186]
designed the national ensign, and the royal standard with
three club-knives, such as the European officers strap to
their sides, and a dove carrying a branch in its beak, and
the Great Seal, and many other things that make a nation
respected. These were foreigners' things and their mean-
ing was therefore not known to Tongans, but they were the
emblems of civilisation. He it was who ordered the tim-
ber for the palace and the churches and all the public
buildings, which cost a great deal of money. And lastly, [648]
it was he who persuaded a German Consul-General to
come to Tonga in a man-of-war to make a treaty, so that
Tonga was recognised of the Great Powers: for this
honour only a small island was given to Germany as a
coaling-station, and for his labours as interpreter between
the plenipotentiaries Mr Baker received, as was right and
proper, a decoration from the German Emperor.

Then Unga, the premier and the king's son, died in 797
Auckland, and Mr Baker, out of his love for the king, 645
brought back the body to Tonga in a German man-of-war,
and consented to fill the place that Unga had left empty.
For charges had been made against Mr Baker—the great [794]
are always envied!—and a committee of his peers in the
Methodist Church had advised his removal to Australia.
Thus Unga's death saved him from the pain of leaving
the Tongans whom he loved.

Now the king had a grievance against the Conference. 797
795

797 795 Every year the mission collected for church purposes large sums that were not spent in Tonga, but were transferred to some other circuit more in need of money. He contended with reason that this money ought to be spent for the benefit of those who had contributed it. Mr Baker, as head of the mission, had been the most active in developing a doubtful method of collecting funds; but as he, too, had a grievance against the Conference who had profited by his ingenuity, and turned round upon him when the facts became too notorious to admit of denial, he threw in his lot with the king. After King George he was now the most powerful man in the kingdom, and his power could be greatly developed, provided that the missionaries left him alone. He had to choose between conciliating or fighting them, and he chose the latter alternative as more consonant with his tastes. If he failed, their opposition to him could not be more bitter than it was before; whereas if he succeeded in driving them from Tonga, his government would be independent of all opposition, while his thirst to avenge his private wrongs would be gratified. It was a bold scheme, and it very nearly succeeded.

King George had long been asking that Tonga should be constituted a separate Conference, having control over its own finances; but unsuccessfully, because the Wesleyan authorities felt that an infant Church, whose members were but yesterday practising heathen rites, and who were never remarkable for diffidence or stedfastness of purpose, were scarcely in a fit state to be freed from leading-strings. Mr Baker began to irritate this old sore. [643] He suggested to the king that, if the Conference persisted

in resisting his most reasonable demands, he ought to set 797
up a Wesleyan Church of his own, a national Church, 795
ruled by the same laws as those that governed other 643
Methodist churches. He even persuaded his successor in the chairmanship of the district, a Mr Watkin, to betray his trust and secede with him. When all was ready, he telegraphed to the Australian Conference, then sitting, warning them to accept the king's terms, or suffer the consequences. He was probably aware, when he sent this telegram, that there was no time for the receipt of a favourable reply before the date he had fixed in his ultimatum, but he had, he considered, cleared his own character, and he now proceeded to make his *coup-d'état*.

So the new Church was set up, and in a few weeks it 795
had been embraced by a majority of the people and of the native ministers, who joined the new Church "out of their love for Tubou" and received higher salaries for
their loyalty to their sovereign. The king's influence 798
was enormous, but Mr Baker had slightly overrated it; 797
for, in spite of all persuasions and threats, a very re- 795
spectable minority were left who flatly refused to turn, not probably for conscientious motives,—for the tenets of the two Churches were exactly the same,—but because they disliked Mr Baker and were attached to the Wesleyan missionary, and also because their natural obstinacy and dislike of being "hustled" came to their support. He had now to face the Wesleyans, armed with very good grounds for complaint, and, to save himself from losing ground, he had recourse to persecution, petty at first, but descending later to rather gross out-

798 rages. Unfortunately for the Wesleyan cause, these
797 outrages were much exaggerated by well-meaning but
795 inaccurate friends, so that people grew sceptical as to
the truth of any of them.

798 Being now in the zenith of his power, in the enviable
797 position of a ruler who is his own treasurer and auditor
and also controls the law courts, he became, as men of his
stamp always do become, a petty tyrant, without the tact
or temper to control the disaffection he created. A dangerous
feeling against him began to develop itself among
the chiefs, and instead of conciliating them, as a shrewder
man would have done, he trusted everything to his
ascendancy over the king, and treated chiefs and commoners
798 alike as his inferiors in virtue of his office. In
797 1886 four prisoners, undergoing imprisonment for petty
682 offences, escaped from jail, and hid for months among
[681] the caves at the back of the island, living upon such food
[697] as the sympathy of the people procured for them under
cover of night. On the night of January 5, 1887, they
lay in wait for Mr Baker as he drove home in the dusk
with his son and daughter. They fired, but the shot
missed its mark, breaking the boy's arm as he ran to stop
them, and wounding the girl as she tried to screen her
father. The horse, not less terrified than its driver, bolted,
leaving the two wounded children on the ground, nor
could it be stopped until it had carried its master to a
place of safety. It was a savage crime, but the revenge
[694] taken for it was scarcely behind it in savagery. There
were wholesale arrests: there was a trial in the presence
of the native Chief Justice, a native jury, and Mr Baker;
but as the public was not admitted to the court, and the

few Europeans present were ignorant of Tongan, we have 798
only native accounts of the proceedings to rely upon. 797
Several men were condemned to death, including the 682
actual perpetrators of the crime, and four, one of whom [694]
was more than probably innocent, were taken to Malinoa [696]
island and summarily shot. Others would have followed [648]
had not the Europeans interfered and threatened Mr
Baker personally, and during the delay thus secured
H.M.S. Diamond arrived with the High Commissioner,
Sir Charles Mitchell, from Fiji.

Mr Baker had affected from the first to regard the 798
attack upon him as a conspiracy of the Wesleyans, and 797
sought to connect the missionary, and even the English
Vice-Consul, with the crime. It was an opportunity for
wiping out the remnant of the Wesleyan Church. On the 798
pretence that there was an insurrection against the king's 578
authority in Tongatabu, he summoned the men of Haapai 669
and Vavau to come and restore order. They came with
all the savage ruffianism in them aroused by the remembrance
that Tongatabu was their ancient enemy. Armed,
and with blackened faces, they spread over the country,
plundering the houses of the Wesleyans, flogging and insulting
all who refused to join the Free Church. The 798
remnant of those who still held out, some two hundred 688
souls, were huddled on board two small schooners, and 167
shipped off to Fiji. They were thus thrust destitute upon
the Government of that colony, which was put to no
small inconvenience and expense in providing for them.
Eventually they were settled on the fertile island of Koro.
dissatisfied, and in continual disagreement with their
Fijian neighbours. It was their sudden arrival that [648]

798 caused the High Commissioner to visit Tonga. The ex-
688 haustive judicial inquiry which he held furnished ample
167 grounds for the removal of Mr Baker under the Order in
648 Council which empowers the High Commissioner to remove
797 any British subject who, in his opinion, is dangerous to the
648
645 peace and good order of the island in which he is living.
But since Mr Baker, in fact, constituted in himself the Tongan Government, it was not clear that his removal would not be followed by anarchy; and as the king undertook to put a stop to the persecution of the Wesleyans, and to adopt certain other reforms, Sir Charles Mitchell preferred allowing them to be effected through Mr Baker's agency to incurring the risk of the chaos that might result from his removal. The ship of war therefore sailed for Fiji, taking with her the rest of the prisoners lying under sentence of death.

645 Now Mr Baker had expected to be removed, and he
797 attributed this leniency to a different motive. He argued,
798 doubtless, that if the High Commissioner had failed to
648 remove him after the wholesale persecution of the Wes-
leyans and other illegalities, it was because he was afraid to do so, and that he was not likely to take extreme action against him for any lesser cause. So long, therefore, as he restrained himself within certain limits, he might continue his former policy without let or hindrance. The king, who had so often been his scapegoat, could be made to bear the sole blame of breaking the promises made to Sir Charles Mitchell. So the promises were not fulfilled, and things went on very much as before, except that the annoyances to which the Wesleyans were subjected were a little less flagrant. Not content with having escaped

retribution, he wanted to celebrate his triumph to the 797
world. He was living in the king's palace, and to some 798
extent at the king's expense. His crippled children were 645
drawing pensions from the Treasury. It was time to settle with his enemies—such, at least, as had not been shot or exiled to Fiji. He called a shorthand writer, and dictated in Tongan a report of the attack on him, which he persisted in calling "the assassination," writing with gross disrespect of the High Commissioner, and accusing the British Vice-Consul, since deceased, of having furnished the musket with which the crime was committed. This document was thereupon taken to the native Chief of Police to be signed as his report to the king, for by this means did Mr Baker innocently suppose that he would protect himself from the penalties for the libels of which he was the author. It was then translated, and published as a Blue-book headed "Private and Confidential," probably with the view of protecting the Auckland printers.

But this time he had gone too far. The High Commissioner at once called upon him to retract the libels or take the consequences, and he apologised in the most abject manner; but, when it came to publishing a refutation of the libel, difficulties arose. The Chief of Police flatly refused to sign it, and when at last he was induced to present it to the king, his Majesty threw it on the ground, declaring that he had been made a fool of. But it was printed all the same, "By his Majesty's command."

The Tongans were beginning to have quite enough of 797
Mr Baker, who lived most of his time in Auckland devis- 645
ing obnoxious laws, travelling backwards and forwards at

797 their expense, and only coming among them accompanied
645 by a retainer armed with a revolver. In 1889 they simply
651 neglected to pay their taxes, and the Premier was in consequence unable to pay the salaries of his numerous
651 officials. Now when a Government, however small, fails
687 to pay its own servants, its time is near. The power to distrain for taxes was useless, for as soon as the sheriff's officer was abroad the defaulter made temporary loans of his property to his relations. The alternative was to sell the defaulter's labour to the highest bidder, but a Government cannot put the whole of its subjects up to auction. So the Premier wisely went to Auckland, and, to tide over his more pressing necessities, floated a loan on the security of copra to be hereafter levied.

648 But the High Commissioner had not done with him.
645 The king's promises to Sir Charles Mitchell had not been fulfilled: the Wesleyan exiles were still a burden upon the Government of Fiji. It was useless for Mr Baker to shelter himself behind the king, because a Minister whose advice is not taken ought logically to resign. Mr Baker had, however, no intention of resigning, and could not afford to let the High Commissioner see the king in his absence. In May 1890, therefore, he went from Auckland to Tonga to await the expected visit, writing to some friends that he would return as soon as he had disposed of the "champion of the Wesleyans," as he playfully termed Sir John Thurston.

648 H.M.S. Rapid anchored at Nukualofa on the 25th June
645 1890, and on the 27th Sir John and his suite paid an
643 official visit to King George at his house, the greater part of which was occupied by Mr Baker and his family. He

found the king supported on the one side by his Prime 648
Minister, and on the other by Mr Watkin, the missionary 645
who had deserted his employers to become the head of 643
the Free Church of Tonga. After the usual interchange
of courtesies the High Commissioner asked the king to appoint
some of his chiefs to represent him in a Conference
on matters of State, and especially on the subject of the
promises made to his predecessor two years before. After
a long and painful hesitation, King George said that he
would like the proposal to be put in writing, and that he
would see him again in a few days. In taking his leave 648
Sir John desired Mr Baker to visit him on board the 645
Rapid that afternoon. This interview must have been a
painful one for Mr Baker, whose system of diplomacy,
being founded upon habitual concealment of the truth,
was quite unsuited for an encounter with one who knew
as much about the secret history of Tonga as he did himself.
To the question whether he intended to support Sir [643]
John's proposal for the appointment of a council of native
chiefs, he would at first give no definite reply, hinting that
if he were a party to the return of the exiles from Fiji
he would be himself giving an opportunity for another
attempt upon his life; but when further pressed, he
affected to pity the High Commissioner's ignorance of
native matters in thinking that he could go to the king
and virtually tell him that he was thought too old or too
foolish to manage his own affairs. He at any rate would
refuse to attend any such meeting. Sir John assured him
that he was free to attend or not as he pleased, but that
as it was clear that he meant to prevent any Conference
taking place, he would not be accepted as an intermediary

between the High Commissioner and the king or any of 648
the native chiefs. Then Mr Baker tried to retrieve his 645
lost ground, and asked what he had done to forfeit the
confidence of the High Commissioner, receiving his answer
in the form of a catalogue of his more notorious breaches
of faith.

War was declared, and Mr Baker's only resource was
to cut off stragglers and impede the baggage-train of the
enemy. He would not, he said, interfere in any way, but 648
he ought to mention that the king was much annoyed 645
at the employment of Mr Moss as interpreter, and had 643
instructed him to write a complaint to the Vice-Consul.
It subsequently appeared that the ingenuous Premier had
invented this difficulty in order to hamper the High
Commissioner in the choice of an interpreter; for besides
Mr Moss, there was no one well versed in the Tongan
language who was not either a creature of the Premier or
a *persona ingrata* to the king. After waiting some days
for the letter of complaint, Sir John sent an apology to
the king by the hands of the Vice-Consul and Mr Moss
himself. They found him sitting on the verandah of
his house in the best possible humour. He denied ever
having complained about Mr Moss, for whom, he said, he
had the most friendly regard, emphasising this by pinching
him and laughing heartily. Indeed from a native [597]
point of view King George would regard Moss as his
grandson, for he had adopted his father under the name
of Tubou Haapai.

The same afternoon the High Commissioner with his 648
staff waited on the king by appointment. To their great 643
surprise they found him looking very ill and abstracted,

attended only by two chiefs of the third rank, and by Mr 648
Watkin as interpreter. Sir John did his best to explain 643
the object of the visit, but it was quite evident that the king could not follow what was said. He seemed to hear the last sentence—that the High Commissioner came as a true friend to Tonga—and said after a long silence that every good thing came from Britain, adding several times, "Thank you! Thank you!" He was again asked whether he would appoint a council of chiefs, but he remained silent, and was so evidently suffering from illness that Sir John Thurston rose, telling Mr Watkin that he could not think of troubling the king in his present state of health. Mr Watkin replied that the king was suffering from *la grippe*, and the party retired, convinced that, though his Majesty was certainly unwell, his complaint was not *la grippe*.

The king's relations were very angry at the ill-success 648
of this interview, and indulged in the most threatening 645
language towards the Premier. The High Commissioner [643]
had now to consider whether, in view of the continual acts of oppression committed with Mr Baker's sanction and authority, and the dangerous irritation of the natives against him, his presence in Tonga would not almost certainly lead to the murder of himself and others after the ship of war had left the group. His life had already once been attempted before the higher chiefs had declared their hostility towards him. He decided—and after-events have proved the wisdom of his decision—that the case demanded the exercise of his authority under the Western Pacific Order in Council in prohibiting Mr Baker from remaining in Tonga after the 17th of

648 the month, when the mail-steamer would leave for New
645 Zealand.

On the following morning Mr Collet, the Secretary to the High Commissioner, and Mr Leefe, the Vice-Consul, called on Mr Baker at Mr Watkin's house, and handed to him the written intimation. He was doubtless congratulating himself at the moment on the success of his diplomacy, feeling secure that if Sir Charles Mitchell could not deport him in 1887 for fear of anarchy, none of his successors in office would dare to take such a step in the present embarrassed and disturbed state of the country. The letter came upon him like a thunder-clap: he turned very red, and asked if a reply was expected. "None," was the answer, "but we are to say that the High Commissioner will be glad to afford you protection from personal violence on board H.M.S. Rapid."

"Oh, that's all bunkum," replied the fallen Minister, heatedly. He then went off to see the king, but there he found the redoubtable Tungi, Lord of Hahake, and Speaker of the House of Assembly. The torrent of Tungi's vituperation, aided by an excellent memory for Mr Baker's delinquencies during the past thirteen years, was too much for him. It was an inauspicious moment in which to approach the king, seeing that his most influential enemy had the royal ear.

622 During the evening a message was delivered from the
645 chiefs that they wished Mr Baker to leave the king's
643 house, as they feared he would do him some mischief.
The High Commissioner tried to reassure them, but, two hours later, they returned with a sworn statement that they feared he would do the king some serious harm.

It is probable that their real fear was that he would use 622
the night to regain some of his lost influence, and that 645
the progress of events would be arrested by some unfore- 643
seen action on the part of the king; but, as it was quite 648
possible that, in the present temper of the people, Mr
Baker might be roughly handled, the captain of the Rapid
was asked to land a few marines and station them for the
night at the palace already vacated by Mr Baker. Accordingly
seven marines were landed unarmed under the
command of a lieutenant. The verandah was occupied by
a number of chiefs, and the night passed quietly.

Mr Baker had unfortunately time to remove several 645
packages of papers from the palace, and he and his children
were seen late in the night burning papers, perhaps those for
which a diligent and unsuccessful search was made by his
successors. At daybreak he made an attempt to enter the
Palace, but went away when refused admission by the
marines. He was met at the gate by Taufaahau, the 645
king's great-grandson and heir, who, with the title of 644
"Crown Prince of Tonga," had been sent to school in
Auckland under Mr Baker's supervision. Infuriated at
the ingratitude of his old *protégé*, he cried out, "You shall
pay me for your keep in my house in Auckland."

"And you," shouted the boy, "shall pay for living for years in my grandfather's house!"

A few weeks later Taufaahau received the bill for his entertainment in Auckland; but I have reason to fear that the debt is still owing, although he has long ago come into his kingdom and the command of his privy purse.

A little later his Majesty himself came forth for his 643
morning bath in the sea. One of the marines, having 648

orders to allow no one to pass, and seeing nothing in an 648
elderly native gentleman to betoken royalty, interfered. 643
King George, much amused, attempted to explain the
situation in the vernacular, but the marine was obdurate.
The poor king had to go without his bath, but his admiration
for the sentry outweighed any annoyance on that score.
"No wonder," he said, "that Britain is so powerful: these [829]
soldiers obey their officers and no one else. Ah! if the
Tongans were like that."

This day being Sunday, the High Commissioner attended
church with the king, and after service accompanied
him home by invitation. He had made a wonderful
recovery from *la grippe*, and was in the same high
health and spirits as he *had* been forty-eight hours before
when visited by the Vice-Consul without notice, and as
he had *not* been when seen by the High Commissioner
by appointment. He spoke for some time with great
animation, repeatedly expressing his thankfulness for the
action taken by his chiefs and his release from Mr Baker.
He also cordially accepted an invitation to visit the
Rapid, which he had previously declined on the advice
of Mr Baker. The marines were now withdrawn, and on [645]
the following day the Premier was formally dismissed
from office by the king.

The vacancies thus created were rather numerous, for 645
Mr Baker was Premier, Minister of Foreign Affairs, President
of the Court of Appeal, Auditor-General, Minister
of Lands, Judge of the Land Court, Minister of Education,
Agent-General, and Medical Attendant to the king.

His Majesty at first wanted to appoint Josateki Tonga [643]
to the post of Premier, because, though a chief of inferior [554]

rank, he had so long acted for Mr Baker in his absence 645
that the king had a great belief in his knowledge of [643]
affairs. Sateki (as he is commonly called) declined, say- [554]
ing that he was more fit to follow than to lead. Tungi was then proposed, but he excused himself on the ground of age and infirmity. The choice, therefore, fell on his son, George Tuknaho, the ablest young chief in Tonga. Tungi became Minister of Lands, and Asibeli Kubu, a young chief of Vavau of high rank on his mother's side, took the portfolio of Minister of Police, an important office including the control of Crown prosecutions and prisons. The other offices remained unchanged. The new Ministers at once took charge of their respective departments. The Premier's office was found to be in a state of the greatest confusion, and Mr Smart, one of the Customs clerks, was employed in endeavouring to set the papers in order, when Mr Baker appeared on the scene, anxious to remove some of his account-books. He was stopped by a native sentry, and for the moment he forgot that the reins of office had fallen from his hands—indeed at this time his dismissal from office, though already signed, had not yet been handed to him. His temper gave way. "By whose orders was he prevented from entering his office?"

"By the king's."

"But I insist on removing my private property from the office."

Consent was given provided that nothing was removed without the permission of a Government officer. They passed through the outer office to Mr Baker's elegantly furnished sanctum. Behind this was a "holy of holies" into which no Tongan had ever been known to penetrate.

645 There had always been a mystery about this inner room with barred windows. All that was known of it was that Mr Baker frequently retired thither during office hours, and returned to his work with renewed vigour and inspiration; and that large and heavy cases, marked "T. G.," were periodically landed by the steamer to be carried into this inner chamber. When they reached the door they found that Mr Smart had succeeded in opening it, and that the secret lay disclosed. Straw pyramids littered the floor: there were empty cases and cases yet unemptied; and a terrible array of "dead marines," square-shouldered, round-shouldered, and sloping-shouldered, shocked the eye as they lay in unblushing and uncompromising evidence in every corner. The ex-Premier blushed deeply. "This is all my private property," he said, angrily. But Mr Smart had been examining the cases. "I think not," he said, with conviction; "the cases are marked 'T. G.,' which stands for Tongan Government."

"But I paid for them," retorted Mr Baker.

"In that case," said Smart, "they must have evaded Customs duty,—private goods imported as Government property!"

Mr Baker was speechless with indignation. "I'll make you pay for this some day," he said, and turned away to claim other property. If views differ regarding Mr Baker's abilities as an administrator, no one who has since visited that inner room has thought of denying his genius as a judge of champagne. More than once have I heard a Cabinet Minister, the bitterest of his enemies, say with real conviction after repairing the tedium of a weary debate in the House, "Misa Beika was a wise man!"

He now wanted to remove his account-books, which 645
were, he said, his private property; but the writing was
the writing of Otto Lahnstein, who was paid with Government
money, and the books had been paid for from the
same funds. So he took his last view of the scene of his
labours, and withdrew protesting. His son, who had been
his Private Secretary, gazed with pride at the havoc of the
clerk's office, and remarked to Smart, "Well, at any rate
you fellows can't say that we haven't done a lot of work
here."

A day or two later the king visited the Rapid in his 643
State barge, and the High Commissioner paid an informal 648
visit to him the same afternoon. He found him attended
by thirty or forty chiefs in the ordinary native dress, a
sure sign that they felt at ease. After a warm greeting
the conversation turned upon Tongan affairs. Sir John
expressed a hope that all petty oppression and persecution
would now cease, and that the people would be allowed
to return to their normal state of quietude. The king
replied that he felt sure that a time of peace had arrived.
The opportunity for testing the sincerity of his promises 648
had come, and the High Commissioner decided to ask him 643
to do that which Mr Baker had persisted in declaring he 798
would never do—namely, to allow those exiled to Fiji for 688
their religious views to return. He referred to the chiefs
present who had relations among them—to Fatafehi,
Governor of Haapai, whose mother, Charlotte, the king's
daughter, was among the exiles, though past sixty years
of age. The king was visibly affected, and said, "I never
sent them away: I did not want them to go. Let them
come back. They were driven away. Bring them back

648 to their friends." After a short silence the High Commissioner
643 said, "Will you also release the people at Tofua
798 and other places who have been deprived of their liberty
688 for years past, in some cases for no other reason than that they attended prayers at the house of a Wesleyan missionary; others who have been unjustly convicted by illegal sentences being passed upon them; and others who are in confinement upon the personal order of Mr Baker, after being duly discharged by a judge of the Tongan Supreme Court?" The king answered, "Why go on? This is a day of joy. I do not want them to be imprisoned. Let us rejoice at what has happened, and
648 let all prisoners be set free." The High Commissioner
643 explained that he had not asked for the release of
697 prisoners properly convicted of offences against the law, and that the wholesale liberation of such people might be inconvenient; but, nevertheless, every convict who had more than twelve months of his sentence to serve was turned loose upon society.

648 The king then invited his guests to drink kava in
643 another part of the house, and seated the High Commis-
276 sioner near himself. He asked more than once whether there was anything more that he wished done, and begged him to help his Government to keep clear of the disturbances and embarrassments into which they had been led by Mr Baker. Then one of the chiefs seated near the bowl cried out, "We, too, have something to ask. We want to break up this kava-party, that we may go out into
648 the roads and cry the good news to all the people." There
643 was a shout of applause, and the High Commissioner shook hands with the king and took leave. Except the

children, scarcely any one in Nukualofa went to sleep 648
that night. 643

The Europeans living in Tonga were apparently not 645
above kicking their enemy when he was down, for the 563
High Commissioner received information that they were
preparing to make Mr Baker run the gauntlet of a shower
of rotten eggs as he went along the wharf to embark.
There was also a growing disposition among the natives to
make an attack on him before he left the country. The
native Government undertook to restrain its subjects; and
to control Mr Baker's compatriots, Sir John made it known
through the Vice-Consul that the order of prohibition
would not be served upon him till he embarked, and that
if any European attempted to insult him it would probably
not be served at all. One of these gentry told me afterwards
how disappointed he was. He said that the High
Commissioner seemed first to take one side and then the
other. "If Baker was a rascal, what did he want to take
his side for?"

The mail-steamer Wainui anchored on July 17, and Mr 645
Baker embarked before any one in Nukualofa was stirring.
At ten o'clock the order of prohibition was served on him,
and at half-past two he left the islands for New Zealand.
At ten o'clock the High Commissioner and his staff landed 648
at the king's invitation to receive the thanks of the people
for his exertions on their behalf. They were conducted to
seats on the lawn that separates the public offices from
the sea. The native band of the king's Guards played
"Rule Britannia" when they arrived, and continued to
play while thousands of natives of both sexes filed past,
laying their offerings before their visitors. The procession

seemed interminable, and the pile of gifts—mats, fans, 648
combs, *ngatu*, and yams—grew to unmanageable dimensions, while the visitors' arms ached with the exercise of shaking hands. The barge had to be sent to bring off the presents; and one of the blue-jackets, with his mouth full of fresh pork and yam, was heard to sum up the situation in the evening, "Tell yer what, Jack, I wish we'd a Baker to *deport* every day."

The High Commissioner, anticipating the storm that would arise among Mr Baker's friends—that is, among those to whom he gave the custom of the Tongan Government—sent by the mail-steamer a full account of his action, to be telegraphed from Auckland to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Now that Mr Baker was gone, he had to consider what means could be adopted to fill his place.
For the last few years the plan of Government had been 65
becoming more and more complicated, and it was out of the question for any native to take up the reins of power
without very considerable modification. All public records [191]
had been kept (when they had been kept at all) in the English language, with which no Tongan is acquainted.
The code of law was most cumbrous and ambiguous; a [671]
considerable portion of it had been published in the 'Gazette' in English, and had never been translated for
the benefit of the people who were to obey it. It had [645]
been Mr Baker's policy to complicate the administrative machinery, so as to imbue his colleagues with conviction that the simplest matter was beyond their power without his help; and he thus gradually acquired control, not only
of the law courts, but also of the Treasury. There was, it 645
is true, a Minister of Finance, Junia Mafileo, the king's 652

nephew. He certainly looked the part of Treasurer of 645
an insolvent kingdom. His brow was deeply seamed 652
with the furrows of care, and he spoke little, as befits one

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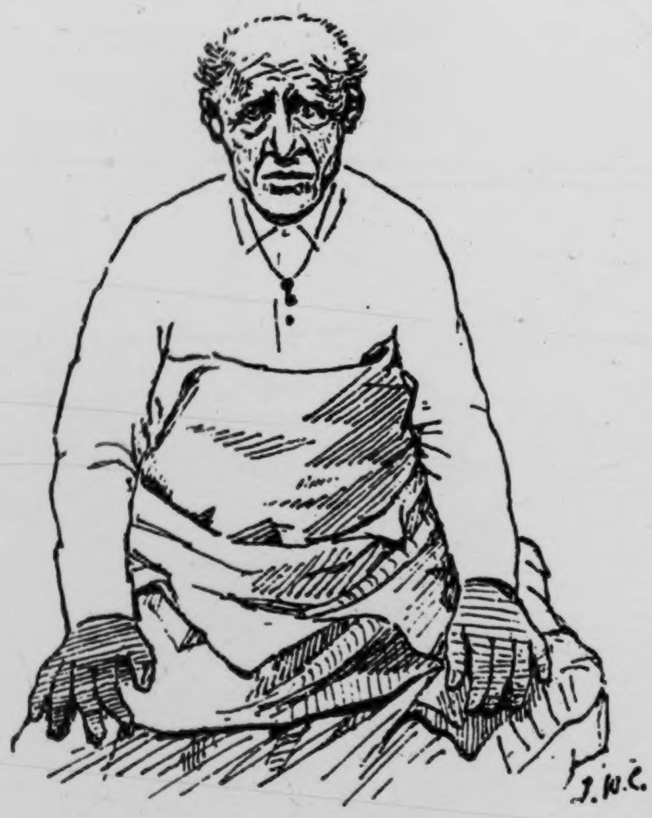

"I am Minister of Finance."

upon whose wealth of resource the financial fate of a country hangs. But when the High Commissioner questioned him, the following conversation took place:—

7

645 "What is your office?"
652 "I am Minister of Finance."
"What is the revenue of Tonga?"
"I don't know."
"But what is your office?"
"Minister of Finance" (warmly).
"Well, who knows what is the revenue of Tonga?"
"Misa Beika."
"Who takes care of the money?"
"I do."
"How much have you got in the Treasury?"
"I don't know."
"But you are Minister of Finance?"
"Yes; I have told you that I am."
"Well, where's the money?"
"In the safe."
"Who knows how much there is?"
"Misa Beika."
"Yes; but he's gone. Can't you go and count it?"
"No; I haven't got the key."
"Why, who keeps the key of the Treasury?"
"Misa Beika."

It was clear that before the country could emerge from its difficulties some fuller information was required. Junia must have an assistant. On the High Commissioner's advice Mr Campbell, the Collector of Customs, was appointed Assistant to the Minister of Finance, and a better selection could not have been made.

652 The liabilities were believed to be very large, and the balance in the Treasury, on being counted, proved to be
645 less than £2000. The ex-Premier was believed to have

made a number of yet unfulfilled contracts, for which 645
his successors would be liable; and the new Cabinet, competent
though they were to conduct kava-bowl diplomacy,
were filled with an unconcealed awe of the mysteries of
office-work. "Was the High Commissioner," they asked, 645
"going to leave them to themselves before their path was 648
clear?" They were not afraid of Tongans, "but what
about the white men? Could he send no one to help them
for a time?" Sir John Thurston was prepared for the
request. It was clear that they must have help without
involving the Imperial Government in any direct responsibilities
on their account. He told them that if the king
made a formal request to him he would send them an
officer not altogether unknown to them; but that if he
came they must follow his advice, and he must have a
seat in the Privy Council.

There being nothing more to do, the Rapid sailed for 648
the northern groups of Haapai and Vavau, touching at
each place, and telling the people the good news of the
"Jikota's"[1] fall, and of the return of the exiles. In [798]
Vavau they received it with mixed feelings, for, while
they hated Mr Baker, they could not forget that the exiles
were Wesleyans, and Vavau is staunch Free Church.

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[1] Mr Baker had a number of nicknames—such as Kingfisher (Jikota), [551]
Empty Bottle, &c. The jikota of Tonga is an irrepressibly active and
pugnacious bird, and Mr Baker seemed to be proud of the comparison. Of
some of his other *sobriquets* he had less reason to be proud.

II.

HOW I TOOK OFFICE.

648 I HEARD the High Commissioner's announcement with rather mixed feelings. To be at the age of twenty-nine elder brother to a monarch of over ninety does not fall to the lot of many, and new adventures are always worth undertaking; but, on the other hand, I had already been to Tonga, and I knew enough of the place and the people to realise that, after the enthusiasm and excitement of Mr
181 Baker's ejectment, would come a strong reaction. By this time no doubt every Tongan had made up his mind that the millennium had arrived, in which there would be no more taxes nor Government, and every man would be a law unto himself. Any Government that tried to undeceive them on this point would be unpopular, and any white man who was associated with such a Government would bear the whole brunt of the popular distrust, already aroused by the revelations of Mr Baker's delinquencies imperfectly understood. With a people who would pay
648 no taxes, how were the liabilities to be paid off? Besides, I was to go there without any authority at my back but that which the king might choose to give me, and if I

failed, I alone must take the blame. The blame of failing 648
in such a service would probably dog me for the rest of my official career.

On the other hand, I might have the luck to succeed, and the experience was certain to be amusing. On the whole it seemed worth the risk. The High Commissioner was still telling me his proposals when my mind was made up.

The plans were soon arranged. I was to go to Tonga in the steamer chartered to take back the Wesleyan exiles. I was not to be hampered by a detailed letter of instructions, but, furnished with a mere outline of the policy to be pursued, I was to present myself to the king, and thereafter be left with a free hand, to be guided by circumstances as to my future course.

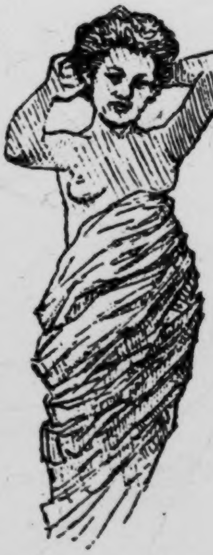
Meanwhile the exiles had been sent for from the island 798
of Koro, and on their arrival they were assembled to hear 167
from the High Commissioner the steps that were to be taken on their behalf. They were, he said, to go back to their homes after three years of exile, which they had borne with praiseworthy fortitude. They were not sent 643
back by the British Government: they were invited to 648
return by their own king, to whom alone they owed allegiance. They were not to think that because they had 798
been exiled for wishing to continue in their Church, this 795
invitation implied that their Church had triumphed. If they adopted a triumphant attitude in Tonga, or tried to push forward the cause of their Church, disturbances would be quite certain to follow, and they would be in a worse plight than before. Any such conduct on their 798
part would be a poor return to the British Government 167
648

798 167 648 who had befriended them, and whose one desire was to see Tonga at peace. They were especially to understand that the late events had come about from a true desire to help the king, and not from any ulterior object of extending British influence. Foolish things were often said in Tonga, and the most foolish of all was that England wished to take the country for her own. Victoria was not a "stealing Queen," and wanted no country that belonged to others. She and her officers were now, as ever, ready to endorse the proverb, "*Tonga maa Tonga*" (Tonga for the Tongans), and it was their duty, whenever they heard this foolish statement made, to contradict it.

Then William Maealiuaki replied on behalf of the exiles. He began with a long and very wearisome list of the presents given to them by the Fijian chiefs, and finished with a flowery oration of thanks. Charlotte, the king's daughter, an old woman of past sixty, had called upon Lady Thurston with her women, and had presented an immense roll of native cloth, which, she explained, had been brought to Fiji to serve as her shroud, but since God had allowed her to see her native country again and would let her die there, she wished to leave the shroud behind her.

798 167 On August 16th the steamer Pukaki hauled into the wharf to receive her passengers. Counting children, the exiles numbered more than 120 souls. It was a curious scene. Half the population of Suva had assembled to see them off, including the High Commissioner and the Government [152] officials, and the wharf was crowded. Their native friends were weeping demonstratively, and the Tongans themselves were in a state of high emotion. The steamer,

dressed with all her signal flags, cast off amid deafening 798 cheers from the shore party, and as she swung out into the 167 stream she fired a salute. As the echoes of the last shot [533] died away, the voices of the exiles were heard singing "Home, Sweet Home," in their own language, taking well-sustained [142] parts; [291] and they continued singing until we passed [302] through the white line of reef-breakers, and the figures on shore had melted away in a cloud of white draperies. We had cast off our nationality, and were now Tongans.


One of the Exiles.

Our fellow-passengers spent their first day at sea in holding religious services, and in fussing about their luggage. These exiles for conscience' sake had already reaped the reward of their constancy—an earthly reward in the form of mats, native cloth, kava-bowls, and all things that are most precious to the native heart. They numbered more than 120, and had left their homes almost naked. They went back with eighty tons of luggage—far more than they could possibly have accumulated in three years had they remained in their own country. Persecution had not been unprofitable.

A grey fuzzy line just above the horizon, gradually resolving itself into cocoanut-palms—such was our first sight of Tongatabu. We steamed along the south-east [133] coast, the Liku, watching the surf spout up in a hundred

798 geysers as each heavy sea forced the water into the cave-
167 like tunnels in the reef; between the main island and
[133] picturesque Eua; through an intricate channel among the
reef islets, until some houses showed white against the
thick mass of palms. This was Nukualofa. In the sunlight every colour was intense
—the blue of the sea, the white
of the foam and coral-sand,
and the green of the
vegetation.

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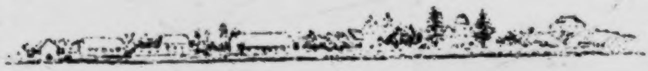

Nukualofa.

From the moment
[152] when the first land was sighted the exiles began to show
signs of anxiety, which increased with every throb of
798 the propeller. They got out mats from their bundles,
167 presumably in order to land neatly dressed; but, to our
292 surprise, we saw that the outer mat petticoats they
576 were putting on were impossibly dirty and ragged. Not
ragged enough, however, to satisfy their critical taste,
for as we neared the shore they began nervously to
tear and unravel the edges of these filthy garments,
stopping at times to inspect their progress towards
disreputability. We had yet to learn that a Tongan
expresses humility, repentance, and respect for dignities
by the raggedness of his attire. The High Commissioner's advice regarding their demeanour on arrival had
not been lost upon them.

798 We were boarded by the Collector of Customs and the
167 Vice-Consul, and while we were still talking to them, two
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excited missionaries dashed up the ladder and fell upon 798
their flock. It was a demonstration that might well have 167
been spared, for the wharf was now filling with people, [797]
and it was the interest of the mission, as well as of the
exiles, that they should return as the king's subjects, and
not as members of a Church of which he disapproved.
Meanwhile the chief men among the exiles, William
Macaliuaki and Matealona, landed to report themselves
to Tukuaho, the Premier, and we pulled to the wharf
and landed among the crowd of sight-seers. I tried in [152]
vain to detect any enthusiasm, but, with the exception of
the near relations of the exiles, who could be distinguished
from the others by their eager questioning of the native
crew of our boat, the people, who numbered perhaps 150,
seemed to have come from mere motives of curiosity.
Mrs S., the daughter of one of the missionaries, explained
the absence of demonstration by saying that we had been
expected on the previous Sunday, when large numbers
had awaited our arrival; but this explanation scarcely
accounted for the absence of the townspeople, who had
had fully two hours' notice of the arrival of the steamer.
The people assembled were scarcely more than would have
come to see the arrival of the ordinary monthly steamer.
Mrs S. went on to say that affairs were less satisfactory
than had been hoped. The king had gone away to Haapai 643
to finish the building of a church. There had been a free 578
fight between the lads of the Government and the Wes- [798]
leyan colleges. The Collector of Customs had had a differ- [645]
ence with the Premier about a copra contract, and, to the
great inconvenience of the public, had closed the Customs
office for a whole day as a protest. Moreover, "certain

578 persons" had been endeavouring to set my native colleagues
against me, and they were so demoralised by the
turn affairs had taken that they talked freely of resignation.
[651] There were, in short, rumours of wars everywhere,
and not a shilling had been taken as taxes since the High
651 Commissioner left a month before. A little later I heard
439 the other side of the story, which was that an enterprising
436 copra-trader had persuaded the native Premier to proclaim
that the Government would accept copra in lieu of money for taxes, and to sell the copra thus obtained to him at a fixed rate; and Tukuaho, being new to the business, had been easily persuaded that the offer was disinterested, and had acted upon it, to the great indignation of the rival traders and the detriment of the Government, as will be explained hereafter.

But the worst news of all, although the least unexpected,
793 was that the Free Church ministers were up in arms.
798 795 They felt, naturally enough, that in Mr Baker they had
[797] lost a powerful champion, and that the Government was
no longer to use its machinery for the annoyance of their adversaries, the Wesleyans. The return of the exiles was a triumph for the minority, for among them were the only persons of rank who remained faithful to the old Church.
[797] Mr Baker was their prophet and their *defensor fidei*, who
alone could keep alive the spirit of enthusiasm, and insure the punctual payment of their salaries from the annual
[618] mission collections. Naturally enough, therefore, they
"talked *lotu*" from their pulpits—that is to say, they vilified the rival sect, and hinted that the removal of Mr Baker was but the preface to the seizure of the country by
186 Great Britain. Now every Tongan is hysterically patri-
829

otic, and has a deep-seated conviction that the sovereigns 186
of the other Powers do not sleep well of nights for pondering 829 how they may plausibly compass the enthralment of Tonga. To accuse the chiefs who had taken office in the new Cabinet of selling their country to England was the surest way to make them extremely unpopular. This had been the news from Haapai, and the minds of the people in Tonga, both white and black, were deeply tinged with pessimism. There was a general undefined feeling that something was going to happen.

III.

THE SHIP OF STATE AND HER CREW.

645 My first business was to see my colleague, George
Tukuaho, who had sent to say that he was confined to
[212] his house with a bad headache. On my last visit to
Tonga, four years before, he was just recovering from a
serious illness; and though I had seen much of his father,
Tungi, I had only conversed once with Tukuaho, and then
only upon such general subjects as the comparison of the
military genius of Julius Cæsar and the first Napoleon,
whose lives I had found him reading in his own language.
644 He was then commandant of the king's Guards, who
numbered twenty men, and in that capacity he had had
the shrewdness to outwit Mr Baker, then all-powerful.
645 It had suggested itself to the Premier's fertile brain that
744 military service might be turned to account against the
798 stiff-necked Wesleyans, and he had accordingly compelled
a number of the College boys to enlist in the militia.
They were first required to take the oath, but this they
refused to do, unless they were told to what they were
[687] going to bind themselves. A refusal to take the oath
being at that time in the nature of sedition, they were

charged with that offence before the police court; but 644
Kubu, the new Minister of Police, who was then Police 645
Magistrate, was not a creature of Mr Baker, and dismissed the case. This would not do at all, and Mr Baker

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[516]

George Tukuaho.

644 ordered them to be tried by court-martial. How a man
645 who has not yet enlisted can be tried by court-martial
798 was a technicality that did not trouble him. He sent an
687 order to Tukuaho to form a court, but Tukuaho replied
that he would like to have the order in writing. Mr Baker committed the order to paper. The court sat, and the men were found guilty of refusing to take the oath with their eyes shut. A messenger was despatched to Mr Baker to inquire what sentence was to be pronounced. The verbal answer was, "Two years." But Tukuaho wanted to have this in writing too, and Mr Baker, grumbling at his pertinacity, wrote the order on a half sheet of note-paper. All this showed no very high degree of intelligence on the part of the commandant; but the surprising incident was that he carefully preserved both letters, feeling that some day they might be
[648] useful. Many months later the High Commissioner, Sir C. Mitchell, held the inquiry before alluded to, and Mr Baker was examined as to the reason for the monstrous sentence inflicted on these men. He knew, he said, nothing whatever about it; indeed he thought it severe himself, but, being inflicted by a court-martial, he had no power to interfere. Then Tukuaho was asked why he had pronounced such a sentence for no offence at all, and he said that he would not have passed such a sentence without written orders. Could he produce these orders? He thought he could, and went to fetch them. The Premier's face meanwhile had been undergoing a change; he was evidently feeling very uncomfortable. When the letters were produced, he said that he had quite forgotten having written them, but that they now refreshed his

memory, and he glanced at Tukuaho in a very peculiar 644
way. 645

Soon after this Tukuaho was relieved of his command, 798 687
and made mayor of his father's town, Mua, some twelve
miles from the capital. He had occasion to see the 645
Premier upon matters connected with his duties. The 622
great man was busily writing in his office. After waiting
many minutes Tukuaho rose to go, saying that he saw the
Premier was engaged. "Sit where you are," replied Mr
Baker, "until I am ready,"—and he wrote on as if the
safety of the nation depended on his pen. At last he
stopped writing, and swung round in his chair. Tukuaho
had heard from others of this mode of inspiring awe, and
was in nowise disconcerted; he returned the First Minister's
fixed gaze. "We are alone: tell me what cause for
ill-will you have against me." Tukuaho raised his eyebrows
with a mild surprise, and intimated that he did not
understand the question, but had come to ask when he
was to distribute tax-allotments in Mua. "You know
well enough what I mean. Why did you betray me?"
said the Premier, coming to the point. "I have much
love for you," answered Tukuaho, "and I want you to tell
me about Fifita's allotment." From that day Tukuaho
was a marked man, but one to be conciliated rather than
threatened.

I found him in his new house still unfinished. A *ngatu* 645
screen was suspended across the room, behind which a [353]
mosquito-net was visible. A lamp stood upon a trade [352]
box, and the corner of the room was piled high with
official-looking papers and torn envelopes in hopeless confusion.
I made a mental note of an admonition to be [521]

administered to my colleague on this head, for any papers 645
left in a Tongan's house are certain to be read by his retainers, [521]
who will straightway bruit their contents at every
kava-ring in the town, supplying the gaps with imaginative
but sensational details. Tungi was sitting in the
middle of the floor, and rose to greet me with his usual
courtly grace. He seated me on a box, and went to wake
his son, who was sleeping off his headache in the mosquito-net.
Tukuaho presently emerged looking very unwell, but
delighted to see me. He has the same massive head and
features as his father; and though only thirty-two, he
already shows signs of attaining the ample proportions
that no Tongan chief seems to escape. His face is pleasant,
though the eyes are set at a peculiar Mongolian
angle, very far apart, and the eyelids habitually droop
over them. His manners err if anything on the side of [576]
showing too great a desire to please, but his conversation
in his own language is very intelligent. I had hoped that [191]
he and some of my other colleagues could speak English,
but I now found that their English was "pidgin," and
quite unsuited for conducting diplomatic negotiations with
exactitude. It was a serious disappointment, for my
knowledge of Tongan was slender, and my experience in
Fiji and elsewhere had taught me never to trust to an
interpreter in dealing with natives. I had before me the [197]
necessity of mastering the language sufficiently to speak
in public before I could really begin my work, but fortunately
my knowledge of Fijian stood me in good stead;
for though the two languages differ more than French
differs from English, yet the idiom and metaphor is much
alike, as one might expect among races who live under

similar conditions and have occasional intercourse with 645
one another. Henceforward I devoted all my spare moments [197]
to the study of the language, particularly that [195]
form of it in use towards the chiefs, which may be called
the language of respect: the mastery of such *nuances* gives
the appearance of far greater facility than I was likely to
acquire in the limited time at my disposal. Before I left [197]
Tonga the necessity for using the language in public, and
for drafting the new code of law, had given me considerable
fluency; and I was able to realise the vast superiority
and richness of Polynesian as compared with Melanesian
languages.

My two colleagues were in a state of the deepest dejection. 645
They were inclined to be reticent, and told me 643
that they could make no changes without consulting the
king. I said that one change at least did not require the
sanction of his Majesty—namely, that the members of the
Cabinet should meet together periodically to agree upon
a common policy, and that none of them should take any
important action without consulting his colleagues. This, 645
I explained, was the rule of action in every Cabinet [642]
in the world, and it was, moreover, provided for in the
Tongan Constitution. They seemed much disturbed at 645
this announcement, and Tukuaho replied that it was a 578
new thing in Tonga, and that his colleagues would not
understand it, but would say that he was arrogating to
himself the powers of the king. He said that already [622]
the Habavea chiefs, Maafu and Lavaka, actuated by
jealousy, were stirring up the people against him though
he had as yet done nothing, and had said bitter things
in public about being subject to his family: that Tungi,

his father, wanted to resign, and was pressing him to 578 645
follow his example. They were sowing distrust of him 622
in the king's mind, and there was a strong party of Free [793]
Church ministers and their sympathisers in Haapai and
Vavau who were doing all in their power to damage him.
I soundly rated Tungi for his pusillanimity, saying that 645
it was cowardly to throw up the sponge before we had 578
even made one effort. They were appointed by the king,
and as long as they had the king's support it did not
matter two straws what people said or did. As for words,
no Government in the world existed without enemies who
abused it, but men who undertook public duties knew
that words hurt no one. Our course was plain: we
must see the king, and assure ourselves of his support;
if he refused to support us, then it would be time to
resign.

Tukuaho assented ruefully. Other Governments, he 645
said, did not mind having enemies because they had 643
friends as well; but he seemed to have lost all his
friends, and the king himself listened to others rather
than to him. Poor Tukuaho's political prospects did not
look very bright certainly, but I would not admit this to
him, and before I left we had arranged to visit the king
in Haapai, while Kubu, the Minister of Police, and his
uncle, Sateki, were to leave at once for the outlying
groups of Vavau, Niua-foou, and Niua-tobutabu,[1] to hold
meetings and explain the nature of the changes that had
taken place, before any garbled account should reach
them.

Until the house lent to us by the Tongan Government 645

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[1] See map at end.

should be ready, we enjoyed the hospitality of Mr Camp- 645
bell, who had the pretty house occupied by Mr Baker until the attempt on his life caused him to remove to the king's palace for safety. The officers of H.M.S. 000
Egeria, who had finished their survey-work and were about to leave for China, dined with us. Our host had wisely imposed a fine for any one who uttered the word "Baker" at his table, for since the great Minister's departure his exploits had been so much discussed as to become nauseating. Fortunately for the conversation there had been a mutiny on the Egeria, and her transfer to the China station was designed to take her crew out of the Australian atmosphere, where freedom, as known to the rampant section of the press, means resistance to all constituted authority.

I spent the next day in the Premier's office. It is 645
elaborately furnished with bookshelves and padded leather arm-chairs; but when I opened one of the cupboards in the clerk's room my heart sank. A ton or so of official documents had been pitchforked into the pigeon-holes like so much waste-paper: these must all be examined and set in order before the actual position of the Government could be ascertained. Tukuaho had been fairly active with his pen since his accession to office, but no copies of his letters were forthcoming, and none of his papers had been filed. The claims against the Govern- 652
ment, as far as could be ascertained, amounted to some £7000, which under proper scrutiny could be reduced to something over £6000; but the arrears of pay due to Government officials exceeded £8000 — £15,000 in all — and to meet these claims there was £2000 in the

652 Treasury. The European officials were hard-working men,
wretchedly underpaid, two of them being married men
563 with families. To leave their salaries nine months in
647 arrear was sheer cruelty, but the native officials were
certain to grumble if their claims were given precedence.
563 When, however, a few days later, a proposal to pay the
647 European officials was laid before the king, he laughed
643 and said, "Why not? We Tongans can live on a bit of
829 yam or *kumala*, but these white men must eat money or
die of hunger. Let them be paid."

655 One of Mr Baker's later freaks had been to import, at great expense, a number of labourers from Mangaia in the Cook group, to form banana plantations on a large scale. To make the prospect of earning working expenses still more illusory, he had ordered railway plant to take the bananas to the steamer, and had even included a passenger car, the distance being at most a mile. We had now to pay off these labourers and send them home. They had done little work, and even if they had, the proceeds of their labour would have gone into the pockets of the New Zealand firm who had contracted to buy the bananas.
652 This charge and the Europeans' arrears of salary nearly swallowed up our scanty balance.

645 Our financial difficulties did not affect the spirits of the Government employees. The Premier's clerks were thoroughly happy with their new toys. Mataka, the chief clerk, had unearthed the Great Seal and a box of wafers, and was affixing it to blank sheets of note-paper. Sibu, his junior, was experimenting with a very messy contrivance, called, I believe, a pantograph, by squeegeeing printing-ink upon a stencil-paper, whence it travelled to his

face and clothes by way of his fingers. When order was resumed I tried to ascertain what prospect there was of our receiving any of the arrears of taxes. The first act of the new Government had been to remit the arrears of taxes due in the year 1888, and those who had paid were not unnaturally indignant, and declared that they would regard their taxes paid in that year as those due for 1889. Then the copra-trader had got hold of Tukuaho, and persuaded him that he would earn the lasting gratitude of his people if he would make them pay their taxes in copra, and refuse to accept money. But, to save appearances, tenders had been called for, and the trader in question tendered, but informally. I, knowing nothing of any arrangement between him and Tukuaho, called upon him to amend his tender to coincide with the conditions published in the 'Gazette,' and within an hour I received a visit from his partner, who flatly declined to amend the tender, on the ground that he had a private arrangement with Tukuaho. My unwary colleague seemed to have tied a millstone about our necks, for his signature could not be repudiated. He had pledged himself to compel the natives, who could readily pay money for their taxes, to bring copra—a product which many of them did not possess, and which had to be transported many miles in carts over bad roads instead of being sold to the storekeeper in their own village. Knowing that I was on my way to advise him, he had yet yielded to the first trader who had approached him; and, at the time when the natives needed every encouragement to pay their taxes, he had thrown a serious difficulty in their way. I have dwelt thus at length on this incident because it had after-

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651 wards most disastrous results, and led to a lawsuit which,
though amusing enough in the facts it brought to light,
wasted seventeen days of valuable time. I felt bound to
compromise the matter in the most advantageous manner
possible, and to content myself by making the trader
sign a bond which left the Government quite free as to
the amount of copra they delivered, and allowed them to
receive money for taxes after January 1, four months
hence. I had many times to curse Tukuaho's naïveté and
good-nature when I saw taxpayers turned away from the
tax-office windows with money in their hands, and carts
full of copra passing the Government sheds on the way
to the traders', while the Treasury safes were nearly
empty.

609 During the next few days it was clear enough that,
friendly as my colleagues were, the people did not care to
563 conceal their distrust. This was easily explained. The
white traders as a body were quiet, law-abiding men, but
there was the usual proportion of malcontents who are
"agin any Guv'ment." If these people must have a Government,
they infinitely prefer a purely native one, which
allows them opportunities unattainable when a countryman
of their own is at the head of affairs. Some of these,
fearing that my presence would upset their pet schemes
of abolition of the poll-tax on Europeans and the Customs
dues, had been telling the natives that I had been sent to
[186] Tonga to smooth the way for annexation. This is the one
[829] story that every Tongan will believe, even though a white
man has told it to him, and I knew that it would take
793 months of hard work to live it down. The Free Church
778 ministers, moreover, had not been idle, and their per-
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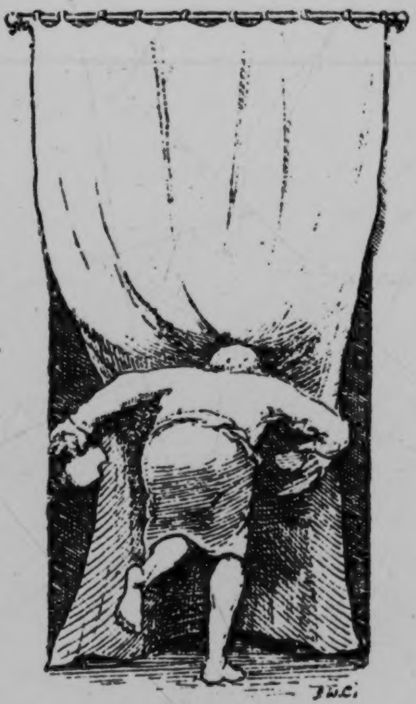
sistent misrepresentation of me as a champion of the 793 798
Wesleyans had contributed to the popular suspicion. The 645
manners of the average Tongan to a white man whom he 609
dislikes and does not fear leave much to be desired. I 576
found myself jostled off the road by men on horseback,
and subjected to many other petty annoyances. All this 645
had to be borne good-temperedly if my mission was to 609
be successful; and I knew that in a few months I could
succeed in changing the hostility and suspicion into
friendliness.

My first task was to inspire the chiefs with confidence: 645
the people would follow their lead all in good time. As 622
soon, therefore, as we were installed in our new house, I
invited Fatafehi, the king's grandson, to visit me. This 644
chief enjoys a far higher degree of rank than his relationship 622
to the sovereign would confer upon him, for he is a 554
chief of the spiritual line; and now that the office of Tui 643
Tonga has been abolished, and Christianity has removed
the superstition by which the descendant of the Immortals
was surrounded, he enjoys the highest consideration
in the kingdom after the king. To him alone, besides the [195]
king, is used the peculiar language of respect by which
the deity is addressed. Of the curious polity of Tonga [128]
before the introduction of Christianity I shall speak hereafter.

Although hedged by divinity, Fatafehi bears his honours 644
with great ease and good-humour. He has a jolly round 622
face, fringed with grizzled whiskers and moustache; and
his kindly expression and burly figure give him the appearance
of a gentleman farmer when times were good. He
is, moreover, almost the only Tongan who, in dress clothes,

644 looks like a gentleman. We had been good friends during
622 my former visit, while his wife Fujipala was still alive.
493 When they dined with me on that occasion, they drove up
291 in an antiquated buggy, with a Hindustani coachman from
Fiji, he in dress clothes, and she in mauve satin, bonnet
and boots included, attended by four maids of honour, as
befits a king's granddaughter who weighs seventeen stone.
Poor Fuji! her good sense and influence are badly wanted
now. Her son, Taufaahau, deprived of her control, was
running wild, and since he was generally regarded as the
heir to the king, it was imperative that Fatafehi should
645 bring him under some sort of discipline. It was partly to
793 urge this upon him that I had invited him to visit me,
798 and partly because he had never shown animus against the
Wesleyans; and I wished him, as Governor of Haapai, to
endeavour to check the disaffection which the speeches
622 of the Free Church ministers were creating. When he
644 arrived, Vaea, a chief among the returned exiles, was
576 drinking tea. He had just taken a cup in one hand and a
784 piece of bread-and-butter in the other when the great man
264 was announced. "Who?" asked Vaea, not catching the
name. "Tui Belehake," I answered, giving his title; and
as I spoke the *portière* was flung aside and Fatafehi strode
in heartily. When I looked round Vaea had disappeared
from his chair, and was squatting in the corner with depending lower jaw and eyes fixed vacantly on the ceiling.
I spoke to him once or twice, trying to include him in the
conversation, but he did not seem to hear. The only sign
of life about him was the trembling of the teacup in his
palsied hand. Suddenly he got up, and having no free
hand to move the curtain, he plunged at it head-foremost,

teacup and all, and disappeared. We found the empty 622
cup afterwards on the lawn, turned upside down in the 644
saucer. When his hostess had recovered from the effect 576
of this unexpected exit, she asked Fatafehi for an explan- 784
ation. He laughed 264
heartily at her ignorance [522]
of the usages of
polite society, and said,
"It is the *tabu*. He
can't eat while I'm
here. Ha! ha! ha!"


"He plunged at the curtain head-foremost."

Fatafehi's laugh once 644
heard was not to be 522
forgotten. It began
low down in his person
and bubbled upwards,
until suddenly
the upper part of his
head fell back, and
a mirthful roar burst
forth that shook his
portly presence to its
foundation. It was a
ready laugh, mirth-compelling,
and it carried
far. When we
told Mrs S. of our august visitor, her first question was,
"Did you notice his laugh? No other Tongan laughs
like that. They say that it is hereditary in his family.
You see it is his rank: no other Tongan would be allowed [554]
to laugh like that." Thereafter I looked with great respect

644 upon Fatafehi's hereditary laugh, the more since I found
522 it useful when debates in the House were stormy, and
the opposition had to be silenced.

798 I was anxious to learn from Fatafehi what reception
795 the exiles had really had, for rumours were most con-
571 flicting. From his account it appeared that while they
167 had received no welcome from the people at large, this
had been unnoticed in the presents that had been showered upon them by their immediate relations and friends irrespective of Church. They were housed in a large disused building called the "Women's College," until such time as they could make arrangements for moving to their old homes, or the mission should appoint such of them as were native ministers to vacant parishes.
798 They had not forgotten the hospitality shown to them in
795 Fiji, for late in the afternoon G——, who was alone in the
576 house, saw a long train of men and women approaching
with bales on their shoulders, evidently bent on perpetrating a ceremony. Now one cannot express gratitude with any accuracy in dumb-show, and the servants were therefore despatched in hot haste for an interpreter. Fortunately kind Mrs S. arrived just in time to save the situation, and reply to the set speech in which we received vicariously the gratitude due to the Government of Fiji.
[431] It took the practical shape of a pony, several live pigs,
rolls of *ngatu*, mats, combs, and the inevitable kava. Like all native presents, they had eventually to be paid for in return gifts of an equal or higher value.

645 Our new house adjoined the Government College, being
in reality the house of the English principal when such
877 an officer existed. The undergraduates were a continuous
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14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

source of amusement for the first few days. On week- 877
days they were taught shorthand and the higher mathe- 873
matics by native tutors in cap and gown; in the evenings [533]
they sang incessantly in excellently sustained parts. [212] [803]
On Saturday they turned out with knives and baskets to [796]
clean up the College premises; and on Sunday they all [291]
put on trousers and mortar-boards, and were marched off
two and two to church, carrying their shoes in their
hands. At the church-door the whole sixty pairs halted
to put on their boots, and enter the house of God with
dignity. They formed a magnificent choir of bass voices, [533]
and rendered the trashy Methodist hymns with a grandeur [796]
that would have greatly surprised their composers.
During the sermon the sixth form were busy transcribing [212]
the homily in shorthand.

IV.

HOW I FARED AT COURT.

645 At length, on August 27, Fatafehi's schooner the Malokula
505 was declared ready for sea, and I embarked with Tukuaho,
[552] Fatafehi, and Chief Clerk Mataka. The vessel was unpleasantly
crowded with old women, whose prostrate
bodies made the traverse of the deck at night impossible.
At sunset we passed Malinoa, where lay the four men
who were shot after the attempt on Mr Baker's life.
Thence, clear of reefs, we stood on with a fair wind
through the night until we could see the glare of the
volcano of Tofua, then in eruption. After a fruitless
attempt to capture a pig at Haafeva, which wasted a
precious hour, we dropped anchor at Lifuka at nearly
133 noon. We were on the lee side of a low narrow island,
nowhere more than thirty feet above high-water mark, but
covered with grass and cocoa-nuts to the water's edge.
Other islands of the same kind stretched away to the
361 north and south of us. The town was a mere row of iron-roofed
347 stores on the beach: behind them could be seen
351 the usual native huts dotted about among the trees, with
grass growing right up to the doors, and horses tethered
here and there between them.

here and there between them. A few cable-lengths to 000
the northward of our anchorage was the spot where the 175 177
privateer Port-au-Prince was treacherously taken by Finau
Ulukalala, and on the beach opposite to us the master and
crew were murdered. The two rusty iron guns among [501]
the ballast in the hold of our schooner are part of her
armament. To this event we are indebted for a book of 114
travels that closely approaches 'Robinson Crusoe' in style 175
and surpasses it in interest. Mariner, one of the survivors,
spent scarcely four years among the people, yet his
account of the Tongans, elicited by questions put to him
by Dr Martin, leaves little to be added by later travellers.
The book so produced has become a classic: one does not
know which most to admire, Mariner's observation and
wonderful memory, or Martin's ingenuity, industry, and
pure style.[1]

As our visit to the king was to be one of state, we 643
had brought with us an old *matabule*, or master of ceremonies, 644
who landed with a root of kava to announce our 276
arrival. We followed him immediately afterwards along 574
the beach to the great native house occupied by the king.
Before we reached it we saw the old man coming down
from the unfinished church, followed by a train of his
matabules. We halted until a mat was spread under the
shade of some large trees, and his attendants formed a
kava-ring, a large oval, with the bowl facing the king.
Fatafehi then led me round outside the oval of sitting 643
men, and we took our seats on the king's left, with our 644
276
matabule between us and him. On my left was a white- 574
haired man with very bright eyes, who afterwards proved 576

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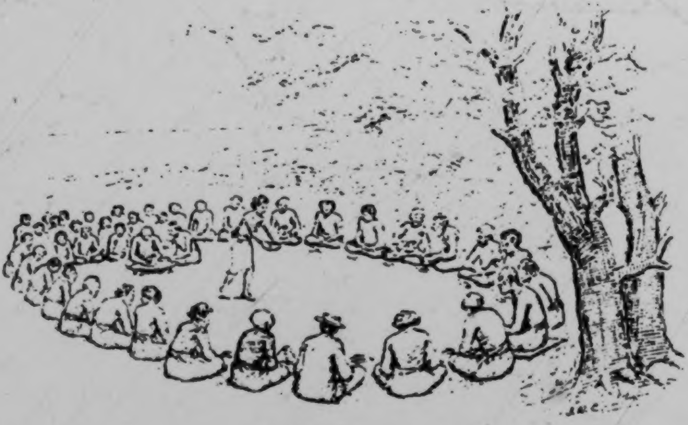
[1] Mariner's Account of the Tonga Islands.

643 to be Kaho the chief jailer, and therefore the most im-
644 portant authority after the Governor. The king sat quite
276 silent and impassive except for a nervous side glance of
574 the eyes, which would have given him a suspicious look
576 if it had not been evidently involuntary. Tukuaho had
[554] slunk off to the place of dishonour behind the bowl, where
some of the attendants were pounding the root on a flat
[554] stone that rang out melodiously. This was because his father is still living, and no man in Tonga has any titular rank or status until his father be dead. At the king's
[521] kava the circle is sacred to chiefs and the *matabules*. For fully five minutes, while the kava was being pounded, not a word was spoken. The thirty or forty men who composed the ring stared straight at the grass, oppressed by a sense of decorum as rigid as the etiquette at St James'. Suddenly, without a word of warning, our *matabule* shouted at the top of his voice to the *matabule* on the king's right,


The king's kava-ring.

"*Oku lelei a Tonga*" (All is well at Tonga), and the other 643
shouted back, "*Koe!*" (Indeed). Then our voice yelled, 644
"We left Tonga yesterday with a fair wind, and arrived 276
to-day." The other barked his monosyllable, "*Koe!*" 574
After this conversation languished. I looked at the king 576
to see how he would take their flagrant breach of manners, expecting that these unmannerly vassals who talked across him at the top of their voices would receive some reproof; but he made no sign, and I was left to conclude that this mode of conversation was adopted in deference to the king's growing deafness.

The pounded root, which had fallen from the stone 643
upon a small mat, had been from time to time shot into 644
the bowl, which was now handed to a man who sat directly 276
opposite to the king with a crowd of commoners behind 574
him. He tilted it up to show the contents, and cried, "*Koe kava eni kuo tuki*" (This kava is pounded). The *matabule* on the king's right shouted, "*Palu*" (Mix), and two men came forward and sat one on each side of the bowl facing one another—the one with a fan to keep off the flies, and the other with some water-gourds. The man who presided at the bowl now rinsed his hands by pouring water over them from one of the gourds, and then squeezed the pounded root into a pyramid in the bottom of the bowl. The *matabule* now cried, "*Lingi ae vai*" (Pour in the water), and the contents of the gourds were slowly poured in, while the kava-maker kneaded the mass with both hands. Then the *matabule* cried, "*Tuku ae vai*" (Stop pouring), and the man dropped his gourds, and took up a banana-leaf to help his fellow in keeping off the flies. The *matabule* now cried, "*Ai ae fau*" (Put in the

643 strainer), and a tassel of the fibres of the yellow hibiscus,
644 in shape and size looking not unlike a deck-swab, was laid
276 floating upon the surface of the kava. The kava-maker
574 now pushed the edges of this strainer carefully down to the bottom of the bowl, drawing it gently towards him, and bringing it up to the rim of the bowl till it overlapped the part that still floated, thus enclosing the fibres of the root in a sort of net. Then drawing the whole to the broad rim of the bowl, he folded it double, and wrung it out till the muddy fluid had slopped back into the bowl, and the strong fibres of the strainer cracked. He now handed it to his companion on the left, who shook it out and combed out the fibres with his fingers before giving it back. This process was repeated until all the fibres of the
[565] kava suspended in the fluid had been removed. These waste fibres, called *efi*, were afterwards pounded again in one of the neighbouring houses by some of the commoners.

[521] During this operation the most perfect silence was kept.
643 Three men now came into the circle carrying baskets of
644 boiled plantains, which they emptied in a heap on banana-
276 leaves, and, by the direction of the *matabule*, distributed
574
264 amongst us—two plantains each. Before eating mine I waited to see what the others would do, but no one touched them, and before the end of the ceremony they were swept up and taken away in baskets. In Mariner's time, eighty-seven years ago, they would have been eaten: now the custom has become an empty form, and survived like the buttons on the back of the modern dress-coat.

643 The straining of the kava being now completed, the
644 man at the bowl cried, "*Kuo ma ae kava ni*" (This kava is
276
574 clear), and the *matabule* answered, "*Fakatau*" (Pour out).
576

Three or four men rose from behind the bowl and squatted 643
within the circle, each holding a polished cocoa-nut shell. 644 276
The kava-maker filled each in turn, using the strainer as 574
a sponge, and, as each shell was filled, the man holding 576
the fan cried in a peculiar long-drawn wail, "*Kava kuo heka*" (The kava is lifted), and the *matabule* replied, "*Angi maa* ——," naming the title of each recipient. As each was named he clapped his hands to show the cupbearer where he was sitting. Two of the king's *matabules* drank first, then the king, then Fatafehi, then another *matabule;* then there was a pause, for the presiding *matabule* had to ascertain my name, which, being imperfectly caught, was reproduced as "*Angi maa Tobisoni.*" After several others had drunk, the *matabule* cried, "*Mai ma'aku*" (Bring it to me), and received his own share. The distribution followed certain strict laws of precedence, which it is the *matabule's* trade to know. The first cup is given to the principal *matabule*, the second to the chief next in rank to the presiding chief, the third to the chief himself. Had Fatafehi been a visitor instead of Governor of the island, he would have received the first cup, but being regarded as a chief of the place, to whom no special compliment was necessary, he received it immediately before the king, a sure indication that he was next in rank to him. In kava-parties of less ceremony, when the kava is brewed more than once, the order is changed. At the second brew the president drinks first, and the person next to him in rank third, the *matabule* intervening.

The Tongans give a rather crude piece of folk-lore to 276
account for this custom, the opposite of that observed in 576 773
Fiji, where the chief always drinks first. They say that

276 there was a time, many years ago, when their fathers
576 believed that the kava, growing everywhere wild in the
773 forest, was a deadly poison. But one day a man going to his plantation saw a rat gnawing a kava-root. He waited expecting to see it die, but it ate on greedily, and at last ran off uninjured. Much excited by what he had seen, he hastened to tell the Tui Tonga, taking the gnawed root with him to bear out his statement. The chief listened to him and said, "If the rat gnawed the kava and lived, then surely is the plant not poisonous: perhaps it is even a useful medicine; let us try it." So they took shell-knives, and scraped the root, and kneaded it with water, and presented it to the Tui Tonga in a cup. But he, looking at it, said, "Perhaps this fellow lied, and the kava is poison after all: let another drink first, that we may know." And he gave the cup to the *matabule* on his left hand, bidding him drink, and the chief sat gazing at him to see if he would die; and after a while he called for another cup, and gave it to the *matabule* on his right hand, saying, "Drink, for perhaps your fellow has a stronger stomach than I, and that which harms him not may kill me." And when both had drunk and were unharmed the Tui Tonga drank the cup, and found it pleasant to the taste, and bade them gather the kava from the forest, and let him drink of it daily. Thus it became the usage of the chief to drink the third cup, after the fashion of that Tui Tonga who made a trial of it on the bodies of his *matabules*.

643 When the bowl was empty I whispered to Fatafehi that
644 he should announce me as the bearer of a letter to the
276 king from the High Commissioner. He passed the mes-
574
576

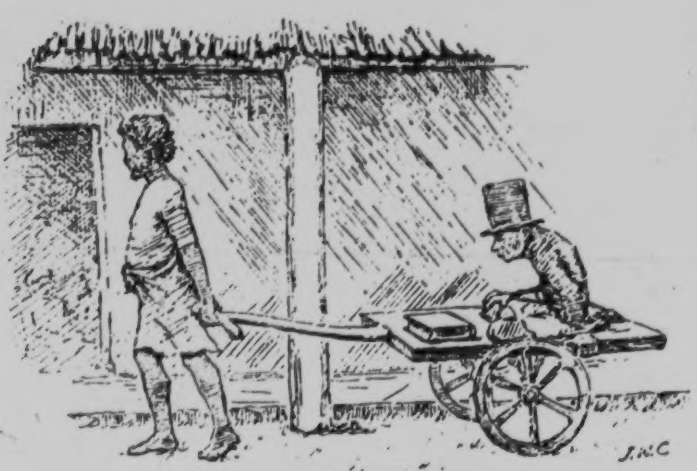
sage on to our *matabule*, who shouted a mangled version 643
of it across the king to the fellow sitting on his Majesty's 644
right hand. This functionary as usual shouted "*Koe!*" 276 574
to the sea-birds circling over the reef. My letter was 576
then passed to the king, who laid it down without looking
at it.

Meanwhile the second brew was being prepared, and [521]
although the formalities were sufficiently relaxed to permit conversation, still the king stared straight before him,
speaking to no one, and seeming not to hear the conversation which was carried on at speaking-trumpet pitch
out of compliment to his deafness. As soon as the cup [782]
had gone round again he rose without any warning, [304]
passed behind Fatafehi, and stooping over me, extended
three fingers of his right hand in welcome, not from any
motive of *hauteur*, but because the fourth finger had been
sacrificed in his old heathen days to the *manes* of a
deceased relative. Then without a word he walked off,
carrying rather than leaning on his staff for all his ninety
years, and disappeared into the long native house where
he was staying. The kava-party at once broke up and
went their several ways; and Tukuaho emerged from his
humble seat behind the bowl, and led us to a large but
ruinous house that had once been the king's palace. This 645
was to be our quarters during our visit. Fatafehi left us
here to go to Government House and attend to his
executive duties. A glance at that building—we could [344]
see it from our verandah—convinced me that whoever
may have squandered the public funds, the Governor of
Haapai was as guiltless as the Minister of Finance, whose
house I had seen in Nukualofa.

344 In Government House there were traces of a weather-board
bungalow, but the shingles had long ago rotted
away, and been replaced from time to time with odd
scraps of galvanised iron, rust-eaten through and through.
The verandah posts had fallen, bringing down the roof
with them, and the gaps in the flooring were mended with
342 bits of an old canoe. But dilapidated as the house of his
Majesty's representative was, it was a mansion in comparison
to that of the Minister of Finance in Nukualofa,
which seemed only to hold together to clear the character
of its owner from any suspicion that an empty treasury
might reasonably attach to him.

645 It now transpired that Tukuaho had in his suite a
203 couple of spies devoted to his interests, whose business
[208] was to loaf into the houses of their acquaintances and
gauge public opinion. One of them, Peter Vi, would have
surpassed even the "Sham Squire" if they had been contemporaries.
His fat empty face and rotund person
disarmed suspicion; and he had besides an odour of the
cloth about him, for his father and grandfather were both
793 reverend pillars of the Free Church. The latter, indeed,
was the oldest native minister, and a contemporary of the
[291] king. He paid us a visit in a hand-cart soon after we
arrived, with a black coat over his *vala*, and a tall hat,
carefully brushed the wrong way, upon his reverend head.
The poor old gentleman had lost the use of his lower
limbs and of part of his intellect; but he said a prayer
over us, and went his way, leaving a vapour of respectability
behind him which doubtless served to rehabilitate
such disreputable politicians as we were believed to be:
for although his son, as a Free Church minister, is dis-

affected to the present Cabinet by profession, old Peter is 793
long past polemics, for all creeds seem much alike when
one is ninety, and expecting every day to have one's
doubts explained away. Young Peter was only a third 645
clerk in the Treasury at £10 a-year, and bad at arith- 203
metic, and he wanted to be Sub-Inspector of Police at [465]



"He paid us a visit in a hand-cart."

[493]
[291]

£25; so, having his way to make in the world, he was a loyal spy. The other was Tukuaho's cousin. He was an ex-convict, and looked his part of spy so well that I suspect that the conversation at once turned upon the weather in any house that he entered; but this did not prevent him from bringing blood-curdling reports of the hostility of the people, drawn probably from hearsay aided by a facile imagination.

Having despatched our spies on secret service, we had 342

342 time to examine the three great rooms that formed our
quarters. There was a depressing air of decayed grandeur
about the worm-eaten furniture and weather-stained floor.
[353] A large room at the end became our pantry, and through
the reed screen that divided it from the rest of the house
came the incessant chatter of a Princess and two ladies
from the jail who had been told off to attend to our
517 wants. When not engaged in the menial service of wash-
521 ing dishes, they were drinking kava and retailing the
276 local scandal in an atmosphere reeking with the fumes of
565 *sulukas*. Lest I should seem to boast of my single experi-
592 ence of eating from the hand of a Princess of the Blood
576 574 Royal, I hasten to add that Charlotte, the lady in ques-
tion, was a member of Fatafehi's household, and since
we were his guests, it was in accordance with native
etiquette that she should take charge of the culinary
[262] department. She discharged her task admirably, and
rang the changes on fried chicken, fried sucking-pig, with
baked cocoa-nuts and raw fish[1] for dessert, in the most
practised manner.

645 After luncheon Tukuaho became gloomy. Not a soul
574 had come to greet him, and he was not accustomed to
578 unpopularity. During his last visit, he said, his arm had
been tired with shaking hands, and his digestion upset
with the quantity of kava he had been obliged to drink
with his admirers; but now he saw all his old friends
645 578 pass the door without looking in. Fat Peter's appearance

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[1] Raw fish is described by Mariner as a delicacy, and it was provided at my special request. It is cut up into lozenge-shaped pieces, and washed in salt water. When I had overcome the natural repugnance of the idea, I found it rather good. There is no valid reason why raw fish should be nastier than raw oysters, which it much resembles in taste.

did not make matters better. He returned from spying 645
with black care on his brow, and with rumours of war 578
on his lips. The people were talking of fighting; they 645
were not going to submit tamely to the yoke of Tungi 578
and his son. "When was Haapai under the authority of 829
the Tongatabu chiefs?" But their resentment was not [634]
confined to Tukuaho—poor good-natured Fatafehi, their
own Governor, came in for a share of the obloquy. Had 634
he not sold his country to England? And, as a proof of 186
it, here was a white man sent down by the British Government 578
to meddle in their affairs. Tukuaho was much
depressed, but, fortunately, at this juncture the burly
Governor himself came in bursting with good-humour.
He had heard the news too, but it did not disturb him in
the least. As a descendant of the Immortals, human [554]
affairs were never more to him than food for amusement.
His own rank was too secure for any popular aberration
to disturb his composure, and his digestion was too good
to allow him to look far into the future. "Let them
alone," he said; "they're all fools. All that we have to do [643]
is to prevent the king from listening to these Free Church
ministers. Only wait until the *bolotu* on Sunday, then
we'll talk to them. No, thanks. I have just eaten. I
am full." The son of the Immortals sat down, and we
got to business.

The first thing to do was to persuade the king to hold a 645
Privy Council, and to appoint me a Minister of the Crown; 643
the next, to pass certain draft Ordinances restraining the 177
public expenditure within the limits of the Budget. First, 652
I had to explain to my fellow-conspirators what a Budget 645
really is. "But," I asked, "how is it that you do not 642

642 know all about this? It is provided for in clause 19 of
the Constitution." "That may be," retorted Tukuaho;
"many things are provided for in Mr Baker's Constitution,
but we have never seen any of them done in Tonga.
[666] When has there been a ballot? Yet the Constitution
says no one may sit in Parliament without being first
[694] elected by ballot. It is unlawful to confine any person
without a warrant, yet where are the warrants for the
[696] prisoners in Tofua? There are none, because the men
were taken there without trial."

652 I produced my draft Estimates, drawn up by Mr Campbell,
177 and unfolded the idea that no expenditure not first
authorised by the Privy Council could be incurred. My colleagues scarcely contained their admiration; but when I modestly produced voucher forms, and explained that not a penny could be spent without the signature of the Premier and the Auditor-General, and then only when proper detailed accounts are attached, my reputation as a statesman was thoroughly established. Fatafehi, giving short barks of half-comprehending appreciation, asked me to say it all over again. Then he leaned back in his chair, and laughed long and loud, looking all the while at Tukuaho, and crying, "How now, boy? If it had been like this in Mr Baker's time, eh? Would there now be debts, eh? Would the money have been stolen,
643 eh? This is a real thing. Look here," he added, becoming
645 grave, "you go and see Tubou now, and tell
him all about it. Get him to fix the Council for tomorrow,—just we three, and we will pass this law, and keep our money."

"Wait a moment," I interposed; "you must first have

me appointed one of the Ministers and a member of the 643
Privy Council." 645

"Oh, Tubou will do that, of course. We cannot pass it without you. Look here, boy," he said, addressing his leader, "go to Tubou now—he's alone: I saw him as I came up. I will send a policeman to keep the listeners off."

So Tukuaho rather reluctantly girded on a ragged mat and [291]
walked down the slope to see his sovereign, and a police- [576]
man in a smart uniform tunic and bare legs followed to clear the anteroom. This precaution proved to be useless, for anon we heard the voice of our colleague proclaiming State secrets in a voice that wounded the ear. He came back delighted with himself. The king had laughed more than once. The policeman had seen him laugh and would [521]
tell the town: it would have great results. Tubou had told him all about the church he was building, and he told Tubou the news from Tongatabu. It was this that had made him laugh.

"But did he say that he would have a Council?" I asked anxiously, surprised at my colleague's levity.

"Yes, at ten o'clock. I had almost forgotten."

And did he say that I should be appointed Assistant Premier?"

"Yes, so he did. I am to write a letter of appointment for you."

Then we laid our plans. The new Ordinances must first be passed, and as the king knew that the Privy Council had power to pass Ordinances between the sessions of the Legislative Council, there ought to be no difficulty in persuading him to sign them. Then, if he [651]

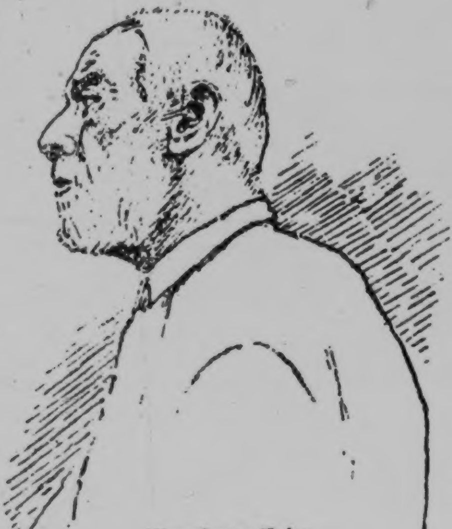
645 were still in a good humour, we were to urge upon him
[643] the necessity of returning to Tongatabu to hold a great
[651] meeting of the people, and order them to pay their taxes.
[624] We sat on far into the night, discussing our plan of cam-
[625] paign between the bowls of kava, until the Head Jailer
[203] and the Sub-Inspector of Police, both malcontents, came
in, ostensibly to do us honour, but in reality to hear us
[203] talk and spread the news. But when they had all gone
Peter's moon-face clouded, and he whispered his dire
208 tidings into Tukuaho's willing ear. The town was sus-
829 picious and uncomfortable. "Tukuaho sits all day with
609 the white man writing. Let them write on. The coun-
186 try will not be lost to us by writings. There will be war
before that happens."

V.

HOW I BECAME A PRIVY COUNCILLOR.

I WOKE early with the feeling that a crisis had to be gone 000
through during the day, and that we should need all our
energies. I fondly hoped that a spark of enthusiasm would
have been awakened in the breast of my colleague, and
that he would be as eager as I to have a common plan of
action laid down before our visit to the king, on which so
much depended. But to my intense disgust the kava- 276
bowl, surrounded by its ministering spirits, was in course 574
of preparation, and a precious hour was wasted. I lived
to know that to expect a Tongan chief to forego native
ceremonial in the exigencies of public business is to court
disappointment. We had time for a hurried meal when [264]
Fatafehi, clad in decent black, came to escort me to the
royal presence. He thought it better that I should see 645
the king alone before the Council, and present the precious 643
log of sandal-wood that I had brought as a present from [431]
the High Commissioner. He would stay, he said, during
the interview and interpret for me. Eight men were produced, who lifted the tree on their shoulders, and preceded
us to the native house that did duty for a palace, and,

645 laying it endways to the door so that its entire length
643 could be seen from within, retired. Then Fatafehi and I
came forward. As soon as the king saw us he rose from
his seat to fetch a chair for me from several that were set
[291] round the table in readiness for the Council. He was
dressed in European clothes of rusty black cloth, and
342 appeared to have been waiting for us for some time. The
644 house was divided
[142] into three by reed
[302] partitions, and very
meanly furnished:
a green iron bedstead in the inner
room covered with
mats was the only
bedroom furniture,
and besides the
table and office
chairs in the middle
room, there was
only a shelf of the
commonest crockery. The outer
643 room was occupied
[357] by his servants, who, I believe, were prisoners. It was
[697] characteristic of the king that while he had a well-
[512] found house in Nukualofa, he lived from choice on the
barest necessaries, and spent a large portion of his
income on building churches.


King George Tubou.

643 After we had shaken hands, Fatafehi announced in a
645 stentorian voice that I had brought a little sandal-wood

from the High Commissioner. The king said, "*Fakafetai*" 643 (Thanks), and there was a pause. I looked round for my 645 interpreter: he was gone! Here was I left sitting face to face with a monarch whose language I knew very imperfectly, bound to make a good impression while bellowing my halting sentences into his uncomprehending ear.

"Fatafehi shall pay for this," I thought savagely, trying the while to assume what I hoped was an ingratiating smile. The king laughed pleasantly.

"*Malo hoo lelei*" (I am glad you are well), he said.

I thought of the *matabules*, blessing them, and shouted, "*Koe!*"

"Ah, you speak Tongan," said his Majesty, amiably.

"A very little," I replied.

There was silence, and to save the situation I said that I had lately been in the part of New Guinea to which the missionaries were going. The king was interested, and asked what the people were like. "Is it true that they are *telefua?*" he said. The word *telefua* was unfamiliar, but I nevertheless shouted the universal "*Koe!*" He chuckled much at this, and I wondered more than ever what *telefua* could mean. Then I tried to lead the conversation into political channels, and spoke of the debt.

"But we will pay it," he said.

"Yes, if the people will pay their taxes," I replied.

"Of course they will pay their taxes," he answered with easy conviction.

After a few more remarks I murmured something about the Privy Council, and took my leave. Upon Fatafehi, 645

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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645 airing himself outside, I poured the vials of my wrath, and asked what *telefua* meant.

"Having no covering—naked," he answered; "but why do you ask?"

"Because," I replied savagely, "since you did not stay to interpret for me as you promised, I have told the king that the New Guinea people go about naked, which is not true." Fatafehi laughed his hereditary laugh.

At ten o'clock we went down to meet the king in 643 645 Council, followed by Mataka with his shorthand note-book and the Council minutes. As we went in the king took his place before a large Tongan Bible at the head of the table. Fatafehi and Tukuaho had moved to their seats, and I was on the point of taking mine when the king caught sight of me. My back was to the light and my face in shadow. He peered at me and said, "Who is this *papalagi* (foreigner) who comes to our Council?"

Tukuaho said, "It is he of whom I told your Majesty.[1] He who has come to help us, and make things plain."

"We have sent one foreigner away," said the king, "and you bring another: I thought that the Council was to be for ourselves."

This was a facer: without being in the Privy Council I should be utterly powerless, quite apart from the loss of prestige that such a rebuff would entail if it got abroad.

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[1] "*Hoo Afio*" is an exact equivalent for your Majesty, and the words are
[192] used in precisely the same connection. In former times they were ad-
[195] dressed to the Tui Tonga only. In speaking of the king to a third person, "*Eae Afio*" (his Majesty), is said. Besides these words a number of special
[776] words for the verbs of sensation are used in speaking of, or to, the king or the Deity.

I had never been warned that the king was less anxious 643 for my coming than were his Ministers, nor that the prin- 645 cipal argument used by his chiefs to induce him to dismiss Mr Baker was that they were quite prepared to govern their country without help from any foreigner. It flashed through my mind that I might stand on my dignity as the emissary of a foreign Government sent at the king's own request conveyed through his chief Minister, and insist upon the choice between admitting me to the Council or allowing me to resign and leave Tonga; but with the thought came the reflection that he would either admit me unwillingly, and henceforth regard me with suspicion, or accept my resignation. In the latter event I should return to Fiji to confess myself unable to do the work I had undertaken: and English interests would be in a worse position than if I had never come; for with their sovereign's views every Tongan would agree, the Government would flounder deeper into the mire, and the German Vice-Consul would be invited to give the aid in financial matters that I had failed to afford. So during the silence that followed the king's last remark, my mind was made up; I would simply stand where I was, and pretend not to hear what was said. Fatafehi's elbow was close to me, and I fell back upon the undignified expedient of pinching it. He understood, and began to shout persuasive words into the king's ear.

"Pardon me," he said, "it is about the money. Which of us understands the way of money, and such foreigners' things? But this gentleman will explain it all to us: he is here only as an expounder."

I stood my ground meanwhile, trying to look utterly 643/1 unconscious, and after a pause the king said, "*Oku lelei be*" 645 (Very well).

We then took the oath, the terms of which forbid me to [651] describe the proceedings, but I may say that before we rose I had succeeded in ingratiating myself with the king, and he had promised to visit Nukualofa, and to hold great meetings of his people in every province, urging them to pay their taxes, and declaring his confidence in his new Cabinet, a point on which proof was still wanting.

Shortly after the Council Fatafehi was sent for by the king, and returned with a message from his Majesty asking my pardon for his having failed to recognise me. I [576] believe that he would have resisted my admission to the Council if he had had time to consider the question, but his natural feeling of courtesy to a stranger prevented him from insisting on my withdrawal after I had entered his house.

This curious misunderstanding, which so nearly ruined the success of my mission, showed me that I could not trust the discretion of any of my colleagues in matters concerning the king, in so great an awe did they stand of him. Tukuaho had asked the High Commissioner for my services without daring to obtain the full assent of his sovereign, as he had obtained his leave to appoint me Assistant Premier without touching on the question of my admission to the Council. Had I known this in time, I should have taken proper measures to win the king's confidence before asking for a meeting of the Council: as it was, my colleague's blunder had saved me the delay

which this would have entailed. The cue given by 643
Tukuaho was a useful one, and for the present I became 645
to the Tongans not a Minister of the Crown, but "*Koe
tangata fakahinohino*" (The expounder—of the dark ways
of civilised man).

The Privy Council over, we had time to look about us.
The island at this point is barely half a mile wide: every 133
rood of it seems to be under cultivation, from the back of 311
the town to the edge of the rocks on the Liku upon which
the ocean-rollers, driven before the steady trade-wind, beat
unceasingly. The Europeans of the place live in a row of 563
stores on the beach, each hungry for copra, each fearing 366
to give the natives credit, yet not daring to refuse lest [452]
they take their custom to a neighbour; and each, when
he has given credit, mortified by seeing his debtor pass
his store to sell his copra to a hated rival. There is the
agent of the great Hamburg firm, the agent for M'Arthur
& Co., a free-lance or two, a carpenter, and the Customs
officer of the port, who brings up a large family on £100
a-year. The only friendships in this heterogeneous society 563
are mere alliances against a common foe, and as they are
all by instinct against the Government, and can now have
the exciting sport of setting the king against his Ministers,
there is something very like reconciliation among them.

On Sunday we went to church in a driving rain-storm, 796
but, notwithstanding the weather, the little building was
filled. The women in their native finery looked infinitely [292]
more respectable than their brothers and husbands, who
had donned threadbare coats and trousers in honour of
the day, but had stopped short of shoes. The king was [643]

796 there, of course—nothing but illness prevents his attend-
[643] ance at church. The sermon was dull, for there was no sedition in it, probably in deference to our presence: the preacher even called upon Tukuaho for an extempore prayer, and announced there would be a *bolotu* in the evening.

VI.

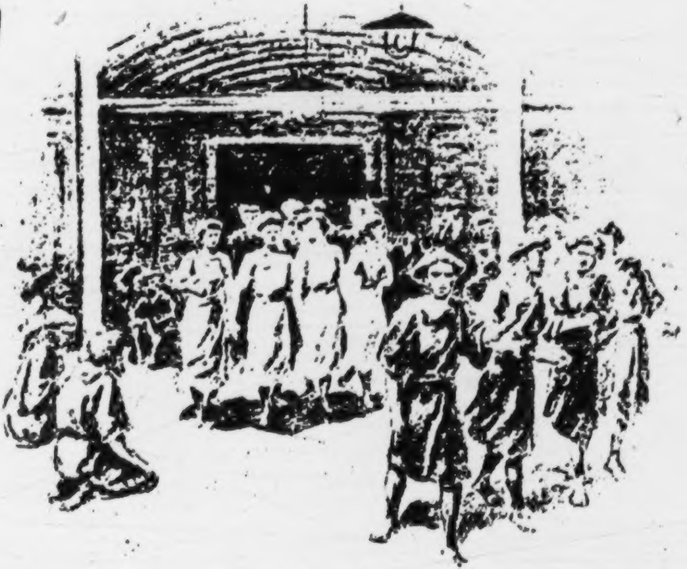
THE POLITICAL USES OF A STATE CHURCH.

THE *bolotu*, or night-service, is a growth of Tongan soil. 796
As Christians the Tongans may no longer enjoy the mild [795]
excitement of taking kava to the shrine of a god, and see [782]
the priestess shiver and foam at the mouth in an ague fit, [793]
or hear her scream the favourable oracle in high falsetto.
The missionaries have stopped all that. True, they may [797]
take to preaching, but they cannot all preach—there must
be some to form the congregation. They have the histrionic [152]
instinct, and no outlet for it in private theatricals or
drawing-room recitations; therefore they wisely make the
mission supply the place of that which it has taken away,
and to do them justice, they have produced an exhibition
far more picturesque than the religious orgies of the
Salvation Army.

The little thatched church blazed with kerosene-lamps [373]
that threw broad streaks of light from the windows upon the palm-leaves wet with the rain, lighting the gay *valas* and brown legs of several mysterious groups who had formed at a distance. We found the inside of the build-

796 ing nearly empty, but there was a look of eager expectancy on the faces of the few old people who lined the walls. 796 533 Then from without came the sound of singing in quartette, in perfect tune, swelling in volume as the choir reached the door. They filed in, forming fours as they passed the doorway, men and women alternately, holding one another's hands. At the end of each phrase they took a step forward, and when they reached the reed pulpit their song merged into another in the far distance. It was the second choir: as their voices soared upward the first band became silent and scattered to their places along the

[291]



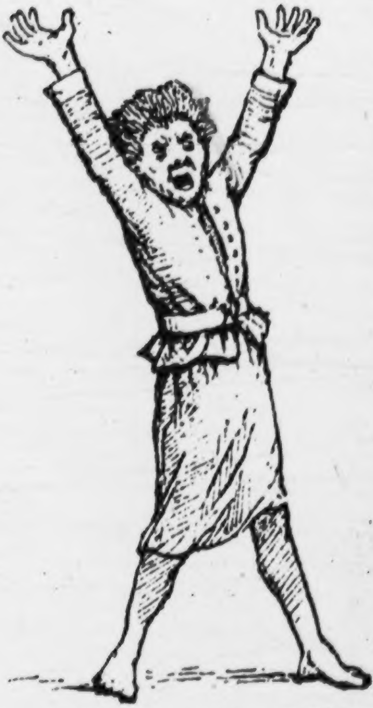
The first choir.

walls, amid the plaudits of the audience. So a second 796
choir filed in, and a third and fourth, until the church 533
was filled to overflowing. It was in reality a choral com- [621]
petition between the different divisions of the town, the
outcome of three weeks of practice under the direction
of the composer. The native parson meanwhile took his [793]
stand in the pulpit, and gave out a text, which was sung
with fine effect by the combined choirs to a tune of
native composition. An inspiriting address followed, 796
often interrupted by cries of applause. They were
working up their enthusiasm for the real business of
the evening.

After the sermon there was a long pause, during which
the people looked furtively at one another. At last an old
woman stood up, and the shouts of "*Fakafetai*" became
deafening. "She is going to tell about her soul," whis- 781
pered my neighbour. Upon this interesting subject she 783
had a great deal to say in a monotonous flow of verbiage,
drowned at times by the cries of "*Malo!*" I noticed, in- [195]
deed, throughout the evening that the women had a far
greater command of language than the men. Before she
had finished, two middle-aged men and a very villanous-
looking policeman were on their feet. The first to rise
caught the parson's eye, and gave us a very long and weary
diagnosis of his spiritual symptoms. The second elder
was jaunty, and gently chaffed his soul, exciting bursts
of merriment by screwing up his eyes at the laughing
places. Three or four others had now risen, and remained
standing in penitent attitudes until their turn came. The
criminal-looking policeman had his say first. With forced

781 calm he told us what a sinner he had been, and at each
783 disgraceful confession the audience shouted their applause. Then with bated breath he told of his awakening; with suppressed emotion he described his inward tumult: words failed him; he caught his breath, he flung up his arms passionately, and after a silent struggle his voice rent the air in a hideous yell, "The Lord has got my soul!" He raved; he tore open his shirt as if he would pluck the heart out of him; and then, still raving, he flung himself on the ground in a frenzy of simulated sobs, and another took up the tale. It was a disgusting exhibition, but it was the success of the evening.

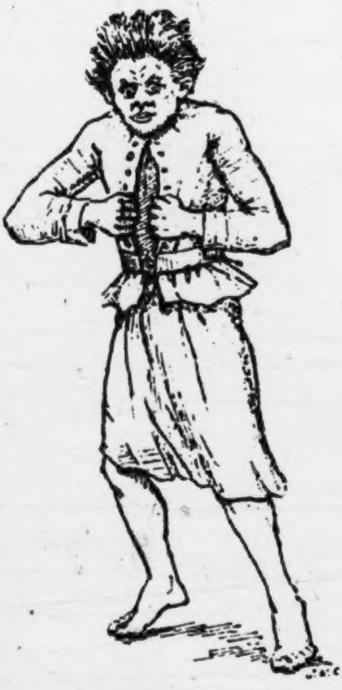
[302]
[291]
[516]



"The Lord has got my soul!"

The performance of the next penitent—a grey-haired and respectable man—was original, but it had been eclipsed. He said nothing: he simply stood and was shaken by sobs, while real tears ran through his fingers. After some minutes of this repentance in dumb-show he made a gesture of despair, and sat down amid loud acclamations.

There were some tame imitations of the three principal 781
performers: then Tukuaho rose, and a hush fell upon the 783
excited crowd. Religion was to give place to politics. 645
He told them that he had come to the church that
evening to find comfort for his wounded spirit. He had
landed on their shore with
joy, thinking that he had [291]
come among old friends, but [302]
his joy had been turned [516]
into sorrow. They were his
friends no longer — why?
He knew not, unless it was 645
because a distasteful office
had been forced upon him.
Did they think that he had
sought office? No! he was [643]
Premier by Tubou's command,
not by his own choice.
Out of his love for his king
he had undertaken work for
which he was unfitted, and
with God's help he would
carry it through. Many
foolish things had been said [181]
(was not Tonga the land of
lying reports?). It had even 645
been asserted that the independence of their country would 186
be lost. Lost? Well, he could tell them that there was
one man who would fight if the independence of the
country was endangered. That man was himself. But
was there a man present who would not fight? (Hitherto



"He tore open his shirt."

645 only the women had been impressed, but now the men's
186 set faces relaxed, and there was a chorus of "*Malo!*")
645 But that was not all. There were some perhaps who
797 loved the man who was gone. Well—he was not there to
speak ill of the absent, but he would say this, that the
accounts were now being audited, and that some very
strange things were coming to light. Did they think that
any Tongan could thread the dark passages of such cun-
645 ning? No. The king knew that when he asked for a
643 white man to be sent to audit the accounts, and to make
609 the dark ways plain. He was present, sitting at his side.
(I tried to look unconscious.) In six short months he
would leave them: it would be useless for them to ask
781 him to stay longer—he could not. But he (Tukuaho) was
there to-night to speak of his soul, and not of politics.
What had politics to do with a church in which before
God all men were equal? It was true that his soul was
pained, but he had at least the comfort of knowing that
he was doing his duty.

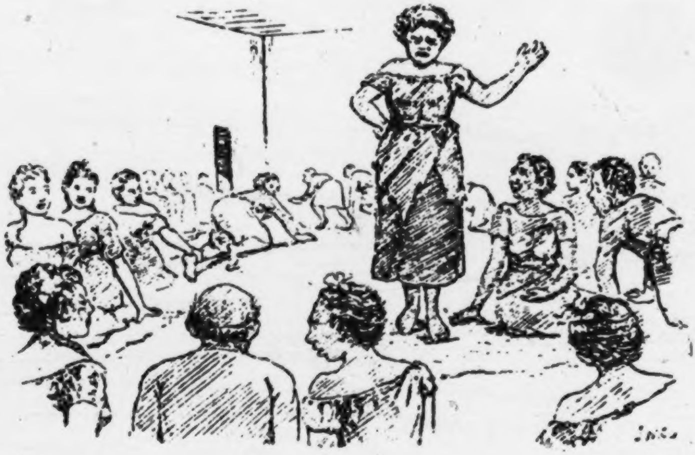
634 Before the applause had subsided Fatafehi was on his feet.
"I hear that you are all angry with me. Very well:
that's your affair. But what is it about?" He laughed—
not his hereditary laugh, but a less pleasant sound. "I
will tell you why you are angry," he went on, and lashed
the mischief-makers with great vehemence, not even deigning
to end his speech with a devotional peroration.

796 "There will be less foolish talk to-morrow," said
645 Tukuaho as we came away. "It was a good *bolotu*, only
I am sorry that Fatafehi's words were so hot."

203 As soon as we reached home the spies were set in
208

motion to feel the pulse of the people after their dose 203
of tonic. 208

Besides a pleasurable excitement the *bolotu* supplies the 796
place of the confessional, though, owing to its publicity, 781
the sins confessed are generally the more venial slips of 783
omission rather than of commission. But not always.
Tradition has it that the unregenerate Mary Butako, when



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“When Mary ‘told her soul.’”

past her first youth, showed leanings towards repentance, and there was dire consternation among the men of Sawana. They took heart, however, when it was found that though she attended every *bolotu*, yet she never was moved to “tell her soul.” A night came at last when the enthusiasm passed the bounds. The acclamations were mingled with the sobs of the penitents overwhelmed with a sense of their sin, and in the midst Mary was seen

796 standing, weeping aloud. The dreadful day had come,
781 and one after another the men of the place slunk out to
783 spread the dire news among their comrades in distress.
Plaudits and tears were alike suppressed: this was too
serious a matter for ordinary demonstrations. A terrible
and damning history fell from the lips of this penitent
Phryne of the South Seas. When she had finished there
was scarcely a man in the church, but the women sat and
drank it all in, and many a household in Sawana dates its
domestic troubles from that terrible *bolotu* when Mary
"told her soul."

We began next day to reap the fruit of the seed
645 574 scattered at the *bolotu* overnight. We were haunted by
578 visitors. Our political opponents came in, each carrying
[431] in his hand the inevitable root of kava—for a Tongan
[276] making a visit of any ceremony would as soon forget his
kava as an English lady her card-case under similar
[203] circumstances. They sat rubbing shoulders with the spies
from whom we knew exactly how much their new-born
[152] friendship was worth. There was, moreover, a nervous
hilarity about them that showed their sense of the awkwardness
of their sudden change of front.

634 At mid-day we summoned a meeting of the Govern-
624 ment officials in the wooden court-house. There were the
[625] judge, the police magistrate, and the pound-keeper, all
malcontents; a dozen policemen and jail-warders, believed
to be the same; the Treasury clerk, said to be
loyal; and greater than all—the head jailer, Kaho, a
[551] dark horse whom it was important to win over. He
proved to be the white-haired, bright-eyed *matabule*, who
had been my neighbour in the king's *faikava*, where he sat

in virtue of his local rank. His office, however, seemed 634
to place him next to the Governor in importance, for he 624
alone can have the ordering of other men's labour without 554
paying for it—a distinction that carries weight in every 466
community. Tukuaño told them how much he regretted 645
that an empty Treasury had tied his hands, so that he 634
could not yet pay them the nine months' salary due to 624
them on Mr Baker's departure; but he announced that 465
from that day forward their salaries would be punctually
remitted to them, and that the payment of the amount
owing to them by his predecessor (he was not going to
speak ill of the absent) would depend upon their own
loyalty. The sooner they could induce their friends to pay [651]
their taxes, the sooner would they receive the arrears due
to them.

Next day the mail-steamer from New Zealand put in, 205
after touching at Nukualofa. From the former place she 797
brought Mr Baker's son—formerly his private secretary— 645
carrying, for distribution among the natives, a bundle of 795
lithographs of his father, subscribed "The Premier appointed
by Tubou"; and from the latter Mr Watkin,
the chief minister of the Free Church, and the staunch
ally of the late Premier, ostensibly to make church collections,
but also, as it afterwards proved, to further unsettle
the minds of his flock.

At mid-day we set sail for Nukualofa. A chain of 823
volcanoes traverses the Tongan group from north to south, 795
and one or other of the craters is generally in a state of [133]
sufficient activity to be employed by one of the contending
Church parties against the other. In August 1886, [186]
the sudden eruption in Niuafoou was pointed to by the

823 795 [186] persecuted Wesleyans as a sign of the wrath of heaven against the Free Church; but the tables were turned, and the dull glare of Tofua, which we had seen every night from Haapai, was now seized upon by the Free Church ministers as a warning of the peril of the State from British machinations. But an eruption is public property, and I was told that Tofua was used by our own supporters to awe the opponents of "the just-dealing Government" into complacency.

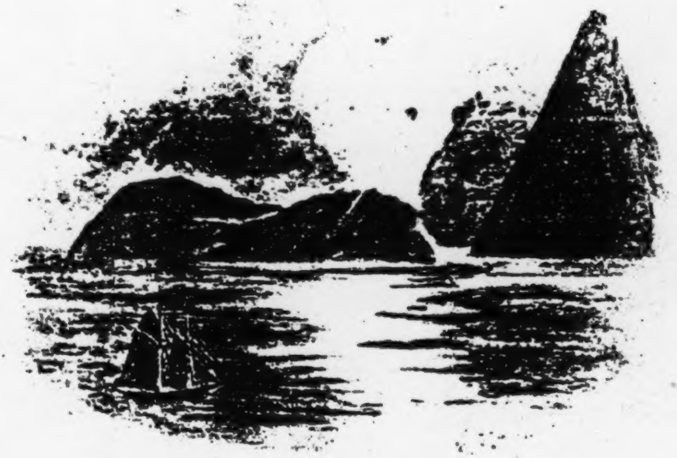
133 With the view of seeing the crater more closely we steered direct for Tofua, and were becalmed within two miles of the volcano long after sunset. The night was very dark, but every few minutes the dull glare of the crater was illuminated with a burst of flame, and masses of red-hot rock were projected into the air with deep reverberations. The crater was not more than 200 feet above the sea-level, and was close to the north shore of the island. I therefore tried to persuade the crew to take us into the deep strait that separates the island from the sugar-loaf cone of Kao. But they were frightened at the explosions, and flatly refused, urging that we should be becalmed on the lee side, and become a target for the missiles from the crater. It was useless to urge that the stones would not fall into the sea: they were obdurate, and we had reluctantly to steer southwards.

175 177 It was within sight of this island that, on the morning of May 1789, the crew of H.M.S. Bounty mutinied and set their commander, Lieutenant Bligh, adrift in the launch. On landing at Tofua he was treacherously attacked by the natives, and John Norton, his quartermaster, was struck down as he was casting off the stern-

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

fast. The sequel is thus told by the natives. They 175
dragged the body inland to a *malae*[1] (the island being 177
the property of the Tui Tonga, there are many there),
and after exposing it for three days, they buried it. But [823]
the whole of the track made by the body as it was
dragged along has ever since remained bare of grass,
as well as the spot where the corpse lay exposed.

[133]



Tofua in eruption.

Mariner, who visited the place in 1808, saw this track, and says that it had not the appearance of a beaten path. At the end was a bare place, at right angles to the path, about the length and breadth of a man's body.

Daylight found us within sight of the "new island." 133
Early in 1886 a submerged reef broke out into sub-

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[1] Sacred enclosure where sacrifices were offered.

133 aqueous eruption. It suddenly rose, and formed an island
[186] 160 feet above the sea, composed of smoking scoria. A
question arose in Nukualofa as to the nationality of this new land, and an enterprising expedition was despatched to settle the matter by planting the Tongan ensign on the summit. We found that the sea was making great havoc of this, the latest addition to King George's dominions. With every storm great masses of the soft pumice were dislodged, so that in a few years the island will be reduced to its old form of a reef awash at low tide.

VII.

MEETINGS ORDINARY AND EXTRAORDINARY.

THE politics of Tonga are a never-ending struggle between 276
the *faikara* and the *fono.* In the intervals of the solemn 521
ceremony of kava-drinking the most outrageous scandal 626
is talked, the most startling lies invented,—for kava loosens the tongue-strings without muddling the senses. Were it less cheering and more inebriating it would be politically innocuous, for it is easier to govern a nation of drunkards than a people suffering from the diseased garrulity born of the pepper-root. Kava is drunk in every village in Tonga at least once a-day. Beside the door-post in every house lie the flat and the round pounding-stones whitened with the dusty fibres; and at each gathering, failing the moral character of an absent friend, politics, or church matters—which are so interlaced with politics that they are the more dangerous of the two—are the subject of conversation. To purify the air of the 621
cloud of lies and miscomprehension that the *faikaras* 208
have discharged into it, periodical *fonos* are necessary. 203

A *fono* is a compulsory meeting of the people to listen 621
to the orders of some person in authority. Before Chris- 208
203

203
621 tianity changed the face of the land the *fono* took the place
208 of written law. The *matabules*, hereditary censors of public
[565 morals, summoned a *fono* to lecture the young chiefs
[577 whenever they had made a wider breach of the proprieties
than their rank permitted. Nowadays its ~~uses~~ are various.
621 In every village at six o'clock on Monday mornings there
623 are *fonos*, at which the mayor reads out Government
651 orders, and urges diligence on the defaulting taxpayers.
621 There are Premier's *fonos* and king's *fonos*, the latter being
203 very solemn functions, only adopted in cases of great
[645 national importance; but in all *fonos* alike no discussion
[643 is allowed, and the people are only summoned to hear
what those set in authority choose to tell them.

The chief's orders of old were published abroad by the crier (*fanongonongo*), and this custom is revived whenever Government orders have to be proclaimed without the formality of a public meeting; but this time-honoured method is not often resorted to on account of the inaccuracy to which the human memory is subject. When Mr Baker promulgated his Wild Birds Protection Act, he instructed the criers to cry the preamble and a *résumé* of the Act—That whereas certain birds, particularly specified, were of public utility as the destroyers of worms, fleas, and other noxious insects, they were not to be killed on pain of heavy penalties. But the crier's version was: "Hear me, all people. It is the command of the Government—worms, fleas, and all creeping things are useful, so also are birds, therefore it is ordained that they shall not die; whosoever shall kill any bug, or flea, or worm, or bird, or other such thing, shall be grievously punished."
[825 It is right to say that the Tongans received the order

without surprise, for the protection of insects seemed to 621
them quite as reasonable as the protection of birds, or 203
indeed as any other of Mr Baker's statutes. 825

On our return to Tongatabu we found the air surcharged 521
with the gossip of the *faikava*. Two noblemen and the 578
Government bandmaster, all disaffected for different reasons, 208
had filled the islands with a story that ran as follows: "The Government was lying when it said that it was in want of money, for had not the Premier, when he opened the Treasury, found a bag containing a hundred thousand sovereigns, and hidden them for the use of the Cabinet Ministers? Was he not deceiving the people when he told them to pay their taxes, or their country would be ruined?" "Mr Baker has gone to America, and has told the President what Britain has done, and he will come back in an American man-of-war to try the High Commissioner, and punish his enemies." "A British official is in Tonga to pay Tukuaho for betraying the country, and to arrange for annexation." It was plain that a *fono* must be held to cleanse the political atmosphere.

My colleague did not dare to summon the entire island 621
to a *fono* without the express sanction of the king, so he 203
determined to assemble the mayors from every village, 623
knowing that they would carry an embroidered version 645
of his speech to their constituents. Shortly after sunrise on the appointed day horsemen poured into the town, and tethered their horses outside the disused church at Pangai whither we were called to address them. As we entered the building at the pulpit end a policeman cried "*Koe Palemia*," and the mayors rose and saluted

621 with hands lifted above their heads. They were of every
203 age—from the dressed-up monkey fresh from college, in
623 black coat, trousers, and bare feet, proud in the possession
645 of all human knowledge, to the grey-headed elder in the
[291] quiet dignity of the *vala* of native cloth. Tukuaho made a capital speech, denying emphatically the false reports that had been set about, and appealing to the patriotism of his hearers to get their taxes in and save their country from ruin. They must, he said, hold *fonos*, at which only those who were in arrears with their taxes should attend, and as each man completed his payments he should be relieved from further attendance. Then he called upon me for my maiden speech in Tongan, and I delivered myself of a string of platitudes about the independence of Tonga, and the desire of England to see her stand alone: that England did not want Tonga, having quite enough to do with the slice of the world she had already, to which Tonga was but a fly-blow on the map: that I had come at the king's request, not to meddle in their concerns, but to help them, and when they wanted help no longer I should go away. Then the spokesman fidgeted and asked leave to proffer a request. They were tired, he said, of talking to those who would not listen to them: would the Premier himself come and hold their *fono?* After some discussion it was settled that we should hold a *fono* in each of the three great divisions of the island.

578 News now came from Vavau that Mr Watkin and
797 Mr Baker's son and former private secretary had between them contrived to stir up a hornet's nest. The boy, with the secrecy of a conspirator, had been distributing leaflets and photographs of his celebrated father, and the minister

of peace had been talking war. My informant, the Wes- 578
leyan missionary, showed me a letter from one of his 797
native colleagues which left no doubt upon the point. Mr George Brown, the energetic and able head of the mission, would have liked Mr Watkin to be allowed rope enough to hang himself, but as that would have involved the starvation of the Government, already reduced to inanition, I decided to "belay." I was armed with a 648
letter from the High Commissioner—to be given or with- 578
held as I thought fit—warning him in plain terms that 797
abstention from politics was required of him. 795 The time for using this letter had now come. There being a special reason for an interview for the purpose of adjusting the outstanding accounts between the Government and the Free Church, I invited him to meet me at the public offices, and asked C—— to be present and take notes of the conversation. The reverend gentleman was rather restless throughout the interview, and seemed particularly uncomfortable at seeing an unobtrusive figure busily writing columns of figures at the other table. Experience of his absent colleague's methods of diplomacy had taught him where traps were to be suspected. I kept him in conversation for some minutes upon matters affecting the welfare of the Church, and then he seized his hat, and would have beaten a precipitate retreat had I not stopped him, and handed him the letter. As he read it his face became cadaverous, and his hand trembled so that he could not have understood the words. I told him that there was a particular reason for giving him the letter at this moment, since he was reported to have been using the language of disaffection at Vavau, and, before he

648 could express the denial that rose to his lips, I read him
578 a quotation from one of his sermons in which he talked of
797 the injustice done to the good Baker, and of fighting. I
795 asked him whether to talk to natives of fighting was not likely to put the idea into their heads, if it was not there already. He said, "When I said that I meant to warn them of doing anything so foolish; and though I do sympathise with Mr Baker, there were many of his actions with which I did not at all agree." I then told him that the Government, with great reluctance, had resolved to take action against him unless he gave me a formal assurance that he would not only abstain from opposing them, but would also hold himself responsible for the actions and language of his subordinates; and I added that we expected more from him than mere abstention — he must give us a loyal support. After some hesitation he promised to do all that lay in his power, and C—— took his words down as he spoke them. He then said that there was one thing which he wanted very much to know—who had given me the information? I told him that I did not doubt his curiosity, but that I had not the slightest intention of enlightening him. The man might have fared badly if his identity had been known. Whoever he was, he was a good reporter.

797 However difficult it may be to sympathise with a man
795 who has betrayed his employers, I could not help pitying
793 Mr Watkin, who was made responsible for the actions of the most self-satisfied and insubordinate body of ecclesiastics in the world. Since Mr Baker's departure it was evident that his influence over them was waning, and

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

already they were asking why they should not elect 797
one of themselves as President of their "Conference," 795
and why their salaries should be lower than that of their 793
white brother. From this it is only a step to a new and original interpretation of the Scriptures, and to a bastard Christianity like the Hauhauism of the Maories and the Tuka of Fiji.

Our three great *fonos* were a decided success. We rode 621
first to Hihifo with an informal escort of mounted police 645
and clerks, not excepting the faithful spy, Peter. Tungi, [493]
being past the age and figure for equestrian exercise, [492]
travelled in an American buggy, which stuck fast every now and then in the deep mud caused by the rains, while we rode on at the untiring canter that is the easiest pace
for Tongan ponies. Few of our escort had girths, and not [492]
all had saddles, but this did not seem to incommode them in the least. We reached Kolowai, the chief town, plastered with mud, and halted under the celebrated colony of
flying-foxes. They were a revolting sight. Four great 825
banyan and ironwood trees shaded the road, and these were covered with the living fruit so thickly clustered that the branches drooped with their weight. Thousands upon thousands hung there from their hind-claws, sleeping, crawling, squealing, quarrelling, stretching their uncanny sails, and scratching their light-brown heads with a winged claw. The leaves and the grass beneath the trees had long ago been killed by their unwholesome presence; and the stench was so overpowering that we had to edge to windward. They are *tabu*—Heaven knows why, for they do immense damage to the plantations—and they are never shot at. Formerly, it is said, they

825 frequented some *Toa*-trees near to the sea, but the great battle fought there in May 1799 frightened them away, and they chose to emigrate to the large trees in the centre of the town. Ata told me that at sunset half go away to feed, while the others keep guard during their absence, but that they never fail to come back about midnight to take their turn of sentry-duty. Without vouching for this as a scientific fact, I can bear witness that they fly beyond Nukualofa, thirteen miles away, for hundreds of them were shot at nightfall as they flew in a continuous string towards the Government banana plantations near the lagoon. One thus brought down had a little one clinging to her body, befurred and bewinged, a perfect miniature of its mother. In a few days it became perfectly tame, and at night showed no inclination to leave the verandah where it hung in the daytime.

621 The *fono* was held opposite Ata's house. Only tax-payers
645 were summoned, but they numbered several hundreds,
208 and included a few women—widows—holding tax-allotments.
203 They formed a compact semicircle, each bringing
a cocoa-nut-leaf to sit upon. On the outside of the
ring a few policemen, armed with thick batons, stood
[195] erect in attitudes of stern attention. We, the authorities,
sat in a row in the verandah and addressed the crowd in
turn,—Tukuaho in mood of suave conditional, I in bald
indicative, and Ata, their chief, in uncompromising imperative.
[651] Taxes,—we must have taxes, or—many terrible
[651] things would happen. Tonga would lose her independence
for one thing, and the police would come and sell by auction
the property of defaulters for another. I am bound
to confess that the latter threat appeared to be the more

dire of the two. Having lunched at the sacred enclosure 621
of Kanokubolu, the scene of the massacre in 1800 in which 645
the recreant missionary Vason took part, we rode off along 208 203
the shore, leaving Tungi to water the seed we had sown. [175]

The meeting at Mua was a far more picturesque affair.
Five or six hundred people were assembled in a wide [175]
circle, six deep, under the shade of the historical banyan-trees
beneath which Captain Cook sat when he witnessed
the Great Inaji on the 17th June 1777.[1] Acting on my
colleague's advice, I gave some sensational instances of the
squandering of money by our predecessor, and this part of
my speech was listened to with breathless attention. As
I told of the sums spent on cab-hire in Auckland, on
boots and shoes, and on strong liquors, even Mr Baker's
supporters looked discomfited. It was curious to note the 645
alteration in Tukuaho's style when addressing his own 208
people at Mua. Elsewhere his style was persuasive: here 195
he took no trouble to give reasons or explanations. He
simply asserted facts, and his people accepted them. He
is a fine speaker, less polished in delivery than his shrewd
old father, Tungi, but more manly and open. The audience
was enthusiastic—even old Nuku cried "*Malo!*" as if
he had forgotten that he was in disgrace. He had advised 565
his people not to pay their taxes, an offence that would 646
have landed him in jail if he had been less aristocratic; 687
but being a member of the Upper House, he could be
threatened only with impeachment for conduct unbecoming
a *Nobele.* I watched him carefully at this meeting, 565
and decided that he was mad, but not sufficiently so to be 646
harmless, for he is an inveterate talker. When Tongan

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[1] See illustration on p. 317.

565 troubles were at their worst in 1886 Nuku held a *fono*,
646 and thus addressed his people:—

"All the great nations of the earth have made treaties
565 646 with Tonga. We have a treaty with Germany, a treaty of
829 mutual love and respect. We have a treaty with France: this is for the mutual protection of religion. We have a treaty with America: this is to secure freedom of trade, so that a Tongan may go and sell things in America, just as an American may come and sell things in Tonga. And we have a treaty with Britain, but *that* is a very different thing: Tonga and Britain are like two cocks, each standing on his own dunghill, trying to raise his head above the other and crow him down!"

645 The *fono* at Nukualofa was held at sunrise, and I was
621 awakened by an excited policeman who came to say that
208 chiefs and people were assembled and waiting for me.
203 Launched hungry, sleepy, and uncomfortable upon an audience tired of waiting, I did not make a brilliant speech.

By holding these *fonos* we had now done all that lay in our power to hasten the payment of taxes pending the
651 arrival of the king from Vavau. We were in great straits
652 for want of money, for we had undertaken to pay the salaries regularly from the day on which we assumed office, and hitherto not a penny of poll-tax had been taken
[439] at the windows. The Government was being carried on with the Customs dues alone, which, regular though they were, did not suffice to meet the current demands upon
645 the Treasury, exclusive of salaries. But we could do no more, and it was high time to agree upon the line of policy to be pursued to promote unanimity among our-

selves. The two Cabinet Ministers, Kubu, the Minister 645
of Police, and Josateki Tonga Veikune, the Paymaster,

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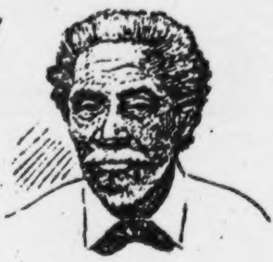
Asibeli Kubu, Minister of Police.

now appointed Auditor-General in his absence, had returned from their mission to Vavau and the Niuas to

645 announce the change of Ministry. We therefore summoned our first Cabinet Council.

[349] It was held in the Parliament House, a large wooden
building furnished with pews and a long table. At one
[643] end was a faded crimson daïs surmounted with the royal
[646] arms: here the king sits when he opens Parliament. We
took our seats round the table, Tukuaho, as President,
sitting at one end, and Mataka, with his shorthand notebook, at the other. Let me describe my colleagues.

[142] Asibeli Kubu, the Minister of Police, is a short, dark
little man of about thirty, with a stiff moustache, and
[157] erect rebellious black hair. He is full of restless energy,
impulsive and boyish, full of loyalty to Tukuaho, and of
645 devotion to his administration. His mother is Lavinia,
565 who would be Tui Tonga *fefine* if such dignities existed
554 nowadays; and his father is Inoke Fotu, a Judge of Vavau,
a chief of the second rank. By his mother, therefore,
645 Kubu is a great chief. He began his official career as a
Police Magistrate under the Baker
régime, and got himself into sad
[142] disgrace by not convicting to
[302] order. Being a creature of impulse, and not endowed with calculating tact, our Minister of
Police is safer under discipline
than when left to his own judg-
[291] ment. To-day he is dressed in a
suit of flannel pyjamas with *quasi*-military braid facings, his head is covered with an embroidered smoking-cap with a tassel, and his feet are bare.



Sateki.

Josateki, or Sateki as he is universally known, is a dif-

ferent stamp of man. A chief of the third rank in Vavau, 645
he was selected by Mr Baker as his Paymaster and Assistant Premier because of his implicit obedience to orders [157]
and his power of silence. In person he is erect and slim, [142]
with grizzled hair and beard, and fine features deeply [302]
wrinkled. He lives only for his work: he is an official [157]
first and a man afterwards, a very rare quality for a native, to whom, as a rule, sustained purpose is unknown. We are not yet sure of Sateki. He is said to be hurt at my appointment as Assistant Premier, a post which, till now, he has nominally filled. If we once win him over we need not fear that he will desert us, but as he will not talk, and has never been known to laugh, he is difficult to conciliate.

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The Lord Chief-Justice.

Then there was Ahomëe (day of dancing), the Lord Chief-Justice, a white-haired old gentleman, one of the first converts, and a great pillar of the Church in days gone by, but now very deaf of ear and dull of understanding. The Minister of Finance, Junia Mafileo, the king's nephew, had not yet arrived, and Tukuaho, as President, 645 called upon Mataka to open the proceedings. The first business was to read a letter from Mr Campbell tendering his resignation as Assistant Minister of Finance because his chief does not come to his office, and no business can be transacted in the old gentleman's absence. The Lord Chief-Justice now fell asleep, and we passed to other matters while Mr Goschen was being sent for. We had granted tea and sugar to the policemen on duty, and were deep in the discussion of the advantages of subsidising a mail service when he arrived. He is a careworn-looking old gentleman with very round eyes, classic features, and a beautiful set of false teeth, which in moments of excitement snap to and remain obstinately closed. When this happens he continues his remarks over his upper jaw, with a hissing noise like an angry snake. His hair stands up in scanty grey bristles half an inch long all over his bullet head. Though the thermometer registers 85°, he is dressed in a thick double-breasted ulster, thrown open to display a checked Crimean shirt and trousers, and an enormous pair of lawn-tennis shoes. At the desire of the Premier I rise and read Campbell's letter of resignation. The Auditor-General pokes up the Chief-Justice, who, waking suddenly, under the impression that a motion is being put, holds his right hand aloft, and babbles of tea and sugar, the last question but one before the meeting. The Premier with due solemnity says that there is a grave accusation against the Minister of Finance. As all eyes are fixed upon the unconscious Goschen, it gradually dawns upon him that he is being attacked, and his round eyes gape in startled surprise.

"What is it?" he asks, blankly.

"You are to attend your office every day," says Tungi, with emphasis. 645

Goschen springs to his feet in a state of frenzied emotion.

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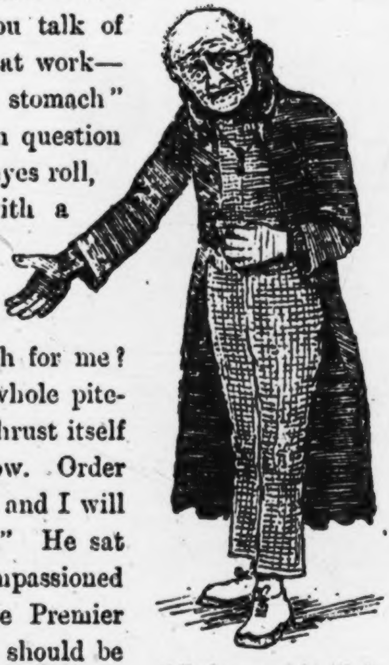
"I know," he cries, "I have not been to my office for a week. And why? Because I am alone in the world. You talk of work; well, I have been at work—my work is to fill my stomach" (he clutches the organ in question with both hands). His eyes roll, his false teeth shut with a snap, and he hisses over them, "I have no wife, no sons, no daughters. Who is to fill my stomach for me? Why," he cried, as the whole piteousness of the situation thrust itself upon him, "it's empty now. Order me to do what you will and I will do it, but only feed me." He sat down choked with his impassioned burst of eloquence. The Premier suggested that a convict should be told off to catch fish for the Minister, and dig his yams. This was a straw to the drowning financier. "Yes," he cried, "give me a prisoner, two prisoners, or even three to feed me, but I think that it will want four: feed me, and I will sit in my office all day." It was eventually decided that Goschen should attend his office on alternate days, and



"Feed me, and I will sit in my office all day."

645 [554] [212] [652] upon this understanding Campbell withdrew his resignation. Goschen can scarcely write his own name, much less add up figures, but he is the king's nephew, and receives £120 a-year as Treasurer, and no money can be paid out of the Treasury except in his presence.

645 563 692 One of the many weak features in the former administration was Mr Baker's fear of dealing with Europeans. He had so wholesome a dread of consular intervention, that in the few cases in which he dared to prosecute a European in the courts the sentence was not carried into effect, and the natives were not slow in attributing this [642] leniency to its true cause. The Constitution that declared all men equal in the eye of the law looked well enough on paper, but in practice they had come to believe that there was one law of Draconian severity for the Tongan, and another of timorous laxity for the white man.

648 692 563 The judicial machinery in Tonga is not less complicated than it is in other little States which are allowed to keep their independence, although within the sphere of British influence. As native magistrates are liable to human error, subjects of the treaty Powers are exempted from their jurisdiction in civil suits and in offences recognised as felonies and misdemeanours by English law. In such cases British subjects are only amenable to the High Commissioner's Court, presided over by the Deputy Commissioner in Tonga: Germans and Americans are theoretically amenable to the Consular Courts of those nations; but as there is no competent authority within the group itself, and their representatives in Samoa cannot find time to visit Tonga, they are virtually exempt from all penal-

ties. For offences against the local laws of police, public 692
health, customs, and taxation, foreigners are amenable to 563
the Tongan courts, the Consul being duly notified to be 648
present if he will; and the subjects of all States having
no treaty with Tonga may be tried by the Tongan courts
without reference to any one. It was to provide for such
cases that Mr Baker was about to import a European
magistrate when he himself was deported.

If the native courts were to be respected they must
be reformed, and they must not be afraid to deal impar-
tially with foreigners. It happened that a Russian Finn, 563
named Holt, had brutally assaulted a German in an out- 694
lying village, where the two men were rival bakers. The [693]
case could not be trusted to a native magistrate without
reducing the courts to a farce; and as there was no one
else available, I reluctantly had myself appointed Special
Magistrate under an Act of Mr Baker that was still in
force. Rather to my surprise, the defendant appeared to 693
his summons; the prosecutor was represented by amateur 695 563
counsel, and there was a curious audience of traders and
natives. Bloodstained clothes were produced and identi-
fied, and the evidence showed the feeling between the
two men to be very bitter. The only defence was that
the prosecutor "had done it himself by running his
head against a tree." Holt was fined £10 or a month's 563
imprisonment, and, as I expected, he chose to serve his 696
time. Perhaps he thought that the native Government
would not dare to carry out the sentence, but in this he
was disappointed. I at once had a disused lock-up cleaned 563
out and roughly furnished, and installed a white police- 697
man as jailer, with a contract to feed his prisoner accord-

563 ing to scale at a fixed rate. The man was restive at first,
697 and made dire threats of what he would do when he came
out. He wrote to the Russian Consul in Sydney to claim
an indemnity, and received answer that the consular jurisdiction did not extend to Tonga. But he served his full month, and gave no more trouble. This imprisonment of a white man had the very best effect upon those natives who were inclined to trade upon the weakness of the new Government.

563 I had only two other cases. A trader assaulted a native
695 boy whose friends laid an information. I fined him 30s.
683 or fourteen days' imprisonment in default. He raised no
question of nationality until after the court rose, when he
came to say that he was a naturalised American, and that
563 I had therefore no jurisdiction over him. As he seemed a
695 decent fellow enough, and likely to listen to reason, I
648 pointed out that he was an Englishman by birth, and that
697 he had no papers to prove his naturalisation: that unless he
paid his fine I should certainly put him in jail: he would then, no doubt, appeal to his Consul in Samoa, who would call upon the Government for particulars: the copy of the evidence we should send would show that he had beaten a Tongan with very little provocation: the Consul would not, therefore, be likely to make a demand for indemnity in such a case, but if they did, the Government would of course pay it: by that time, however, he would have served his time in jail, which was a very uncomfortable sort of place, and full of mosquitos. Did he think that all this was worth the 30s.? Being a reasonable man he did not, and paid the money.

693 My third and last case very nearly led to a breach with
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my valued colleague, the Minister of Police. A white man 693
was summoned by the police for not keeping the road in 563
front of his leased land free from weeds. As there had 686
been bitter complaints by the Europeans that the native 625
magistrates would only listen to the police in such cases, I
determined to test the prosecution by hearing the charge
myself. The police mustered in force, headed by the
Inisipekta. The clerks of the court sat below me with
their shorthand note-books. The accused, a German, was
charged with having left a clump of weeds in the road two
yards from his fence: three policemen swore to the size
and position of the clump. The defendant pleaded that
the so-called road was an impassable swamp, and that he
had weeded the road on which the traffic went. The
police, however, said that they had nothing to do with the
traffic, nor with the marsh. The road used to skirt the
fence, and it was therefore the road within the meaning of
the Act. The case was dismissed, and the myrmidons of [695]
the law exchanged glances. A few hours later Tukuaho 693
received an official letter from Kubu saying that he could 625
not discharge his duties if the magistrates gave such deci- 692
sions; that the police were much pained with the "Ex-
pounder," and were threatening to resign. Tukuaho showed
me the letter, begging me not to be angry, but to under-
stand that the police were a little dark-minded. I sent
for Kubu and his *Inisipekta*, and asked them to tell me
their grievance, and I would answer it. They said that it
was a new thing in Tonga for any man whom the police
accused to be let off; that if this were done the people
would respect them no more, and crimes would greatly in-
crease, to the shame and discomfiture of the Government.

693 Gently but firmly I explained to Kubu that if the police
625 were always to obtain convictions, it was a waste of time
692 to bring offenders before a magistrate; that the police, if
[642] they would be worthy of their hire, should only bring accusations that they were sure of sustaining; and then, when I had manured his mind for a new idea, I told him that to punish a man simply because the police accused him was "contrary to the Constitution." At the magic word "Konisitutone" the Minister and his satellite gave way, utterly crushed. That they should have unwittingly fallen under the charge they had so often launched against Mr Baker overwhelmed them. "Pardon us," said Kubu, with humility, "what do we know? We are dark-minded, Misa Tomisoni; you must bear with us and teach us." I pardoned him.

VIII.

CONVICTS AND POLICE.

THERE are times in life when one should be allowed four hands, two brains, and sustained insomnia. There was a great deal to do, and the sun, unmindful of the political importance of Tonga, would not stand still. I was threatened with lawsuits by merchants in New Zealand, who wanted me to recognise ruinous verbal contracts alleged to have been made with my predecessor; the British Vice-Consul was remonstrating with me for demanding rent from a British subject who claimed the fee-simple of the land he occupied; the courts were playing football with the law; the police were trampling airily on the rights of private property; the convicts walked the town with all the liberty and twice the assurance of free men; and the Europeans had resuscitated the defunct Chamber of Commerce, and were for once united in a determination to embarrass the Government. The Treasury and Customs, it was true, were safe in the hands of my able second; but Baker's accounts were crying to be audited, and if I were to relax my vigilance among my native colleagues, they were sure to fall out with me and with each other.

645 And with all this we knew that our enemies were busy in
578 Vavau trying to sow distrust of us in the mind of the
king.

Of all non-financial departments in the public service,
697 the Prison was that which called first for reform. The
jail was a wooden building fitted with tiny cells, so ill-ventilated
that to confine any person in them for many
hours would be dangerous. In practice, only persons just
arrested were confined there pending their trial: con-
696 victs were not confined at all. It was the most economi-
466 cal penal system in the world, for the convicts had to
lodge, feed, and clothe themselves. A man sentenced to
a fine of £20 must work for the Government for 400 days
(his daily task being valued at 1s.) He might live at
home, and work for the Government during the daytime:
his sentence was counted by working days only, and did
not include Sundays, nor days too wet to allow of work.
The same rule applied to convicts sentenced to penal
servitude. An original sentence of two years would be
lengthened by sickness or wet weather to nearly three
years, for it meant 730 days' labour. He could take a
few holidays here and there when he pleased; but if he
absented himself for many days in succession, he would
receive a domiciliary visit from the head jailer. If he
had a horse and cart, the loan of it to the Government,
when the steamer was in, would reduce the sentence at
the rate of 4s. a-day. The prisoners were variously em-
[592] ployed. Some were the household servants of the king
[643] and the Cabinet Ministers—my seat in the Cabinet en-
[645] titled me to two; others formed the crew of the Govern-
ment vessels; others were stationed at the pilot station

on an island in the bay; but the majority lived upon the 696
Government banana plantations. All alike were free to 466
sleep where they pleased, and, if their homes were at a distance, were obliged to beg or steal their food. The female prisoners, who were generally in trouble for social offences, might be seen any day weeding the public squares; while their brown babies, oblivious of the fact that they had no right to exist, rolled about in the shade
of the nearest tree. As a natural consequence of such a [554]
system, there was not only no disgrace attaching to imprisonment, but, since the beginning of the Church quarrels, there was even a certain *cáchet* in being one of the goodly company of ministers of the Church and men of rank in trouble for their religious views.

Let it not be supposed that so great a legislator as Mr 681
Baker had forgotten to provide regulations for the control 797
of his convicts. I discovered them by mere accident, for 645
they were not published. As already related, the son of 697
the late Premier had passed through the group distributing photographs of his estimable father. The day he left Nukualofa, Ula, the head jailer, came to Tukuaho with a document in Tongan in the young man's handwriting, which may be translated as follows: "I, Ula, do declare before God that I have never flogged a woman by the orders of Mr Baker." There was a date and a place for the signature and the seal, neither of which had been affixed. "He sent twice to me to ask me to sign this," said Ula, "but I would not. Then he came himself, and asked me to sign by the love that I bore his father, but still I would not, so he called me by bad names and went away in the steamer."

681 797 "And did you flog women by order of Mr Baker?" I asked.

645 697 Ula fumbled in his waistband, and produced a tiny green-paper book, printed in Tongan, and pointed to the words, "It shall be lawful to flog any prisoner guilty of unruly conduct." Then turning over the pages he showed me the signature at the foot, "Misa Beika." They were the Prison Regulations, and I at once annexed them for future study. "There is nothing there forbidding me to beat women," continued Ula, "so I beat them when they were unruly, and Mr Baker knew that I did and said nothing. It is not forbidden in our customs." It appeared that the story of the women being flogged had been carried to Auckland by one of the ships-of-war, and the fallen Premier wanted to clear his character by an affidavit from a Tongan jailer.

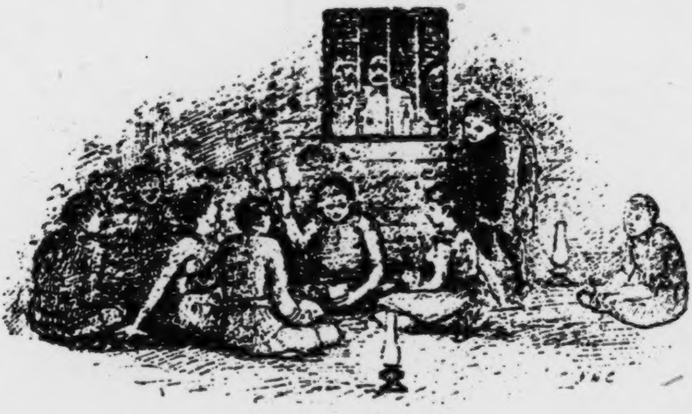
681 697 As the right to punish was vested in the jailer, it was of course not used against those who had taken the precaution of winning his favour. There was in fact no discipline, and the prisoners were fast becoming a source of public danger.

696 [461] Yet smooth as was the life of a Tongan malefactor, no Tongan likes work; and since it was so easy to escape, it became fashionable to steal boats and set sail for Samoa or Fiji. There was a spice of adventure and danger about such an escape that exactly suits a Tongan. They suffered sometimes. Jope, who reached Lakemba in an open boat in 1886, would have died of hunger in another twelve hours. Two men who sailed from Niuafoou were never again heard of. On the other hand, several such attempts were successful. The men who stole the Government

despatch-boat Beatrice have settled at Wallis Island, and 696
those who escaped in the boat of the German firm from Vavau reached Samoa in safety. But for the extradition clause of the English treaty they would all have safely made Fiji with a fair wind, but they knew that from a British colony they would be sent back to be dealt with in a Tongan court. The German firm was now pressing a demand for compensation for the value of their stolen boat; and an English storekeeper, from whom the prisoners had stolen their clothes, was arguing with reason that a Government that would not keep its prisoners under lock and key should be held responsible for the consequences of their acts. It was high time to introduce prison reform, if I could find a prison.

The houses built for the labourers introduced by Baker 697
to work the Government plantations were still standing, and could be made prisoner-proof pending the erection of a proper jail, for which I had plans prepared. One of the long buildings would do for the men and the other for the women, while the warder could live in the small house between the two. I hunted up a lot of iron bars, and set the native carpenters to sink them into the window-frames. Then I drafted Prison Regulations of the usual [645]
kind, and passed them through the Cabinet under the authority of one of the existing laws. As soon as they had been printed in the native press, a day was appointed when, to their intense indignation, the gentlemen of the jail were made to bow their heads to the scissors, and, worse indignity still, were locked up at night. Even the Cabinet was aghast at the boldness of this step. The prisoners vowed vengeance. Tonga under such circum-

697 stances was not to be endured: the Government must either be turned out, or the prisoners must seize the Government vessels and escape to Samoa. For a time—strange though it sounds—the prisoners proved themselves to be an influential body of men, and actually embarrassed the Government by appealing to the sympathy of their [302] friends. Their confinement at night was thought to be a despotic exercise of power, and the compulsory hair-cutting little short of a barbarity. For several days the prisoners appeared in hats, and as this marked them from other people, and also kept the sun off their heads, they were not interfered with. The only precaution we thought it necessary to take was to arm the night warder and the masters of the Government vessels.



A card-party in the jail.

One evening a few weeks later I strolled towards the jail, whence most unpenitential sounds of merriment had been reported. The men's ward and the warder's cottage

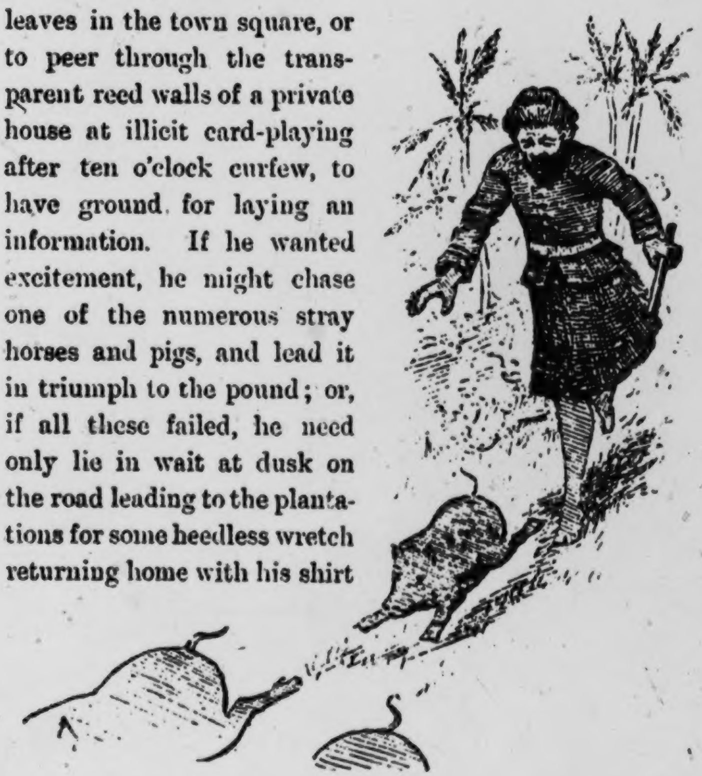
were in darkness, but a blaze of light streamed from the 697
windows of the female ward. I thought I caught the muffled ring of kava-stones, and—oh, horror!—the sound of masculine laughter. Kubu, my companion, vowing vengeance against the unsuspecting warder, led me towards the window. There were two kerosene-lamps on the floor, a female prisoner was pounding kava, while the other prisoners of both sexes were squatting in a circle watching a game of euchre between the warder and a housebreaker, each with a good-looking partner from the female ward. I left Kubu to break in upon this pleasant little party, and I heard next day that the warder had retired into private life.

Not long after this two prisoners, who formed the crew 696
of the Government ketch Kumeti, took the opportunity of seizing the Government despatch-boat Alice while her police crew and their own warder were making a night of it on shore. They guarded against pursuit by taking with them the gear belonging to the Kumeti. Reaching Samoa, they stranded the boat, and joined the settlement
of Tongans on Upolu. We had no extradition treaty with 648
Samoa. The bickerings between the three Powers were 696
slaked for the moment by the Treaty of Berlin, under which brilliant effort of statecraft a Consular Board, a Municipal Council, a Lands Commission, and a Swedish Chief-Justice had been sent to fight the quarrel out upon the spot. But Malietoa was king, and to Malietoa I applied for the recovery of the boat and the prisoners. I chose the smart embossed paper headed "Ministry for Foreign Affairs," and wrote in the king's name to request his royal brother to arrest the runaways, and to send back the boat.

648 In due course I received an answer, written by the king's
696 native secretary in excellent English, saying that the men had been arrested but had broken loose again. A month later, however, they were rearrested very cleverly, and landed with the stolen boat at Nukualofa, where they received in the Supreme Court a sentence likely to deter others from similar attempts. With them came a second letter from King Malietoa, enclosing his account for expenses—£3, 15s.—and a polite intimation that he was obliged to make this charge, owing to the unsettled state of his Government; but that in a few months, when he had had time to organise his staff, he would be very glad to do such small services for his brother's Government for nothing. We heard afterwards that at that time he had no police at all, but that he had offered a reward for the capture, and a number of big Samoans had gone man-hunting until the runaways were caught. The whole transaction was probably illegal, but it was morally justifiable, and not more irregular than most other movements of public affairs in Samoa at the time.

625 The police also had so fine a disregard for legal forms that they were becoming a source of embarrassment. They were cursed with an excess of zeal bred of ambition. They were classed in three ranks—the *Inisipekta* (Inspector) with a salary of £30, the *polisi* (policeman) with £20, and the *katcta* (cadet) with £10 a-year. Kubu had hit upon the happy idea of letting promotion depend upon individual activity, as shown by the number of prosecutions instituted by each man. Just as even the best of Christians does not pass a single day without committing some sin, so must a Tongan be morbidly law-abiding who

can lie down at night without having been entangled in 625
the meshes of Mr Baker's code by sins of omission or
commission. An ambitious *kateta* had only to note a hole 625 671
in the road, or a few dead leaves in the town square, or to peer through the trans-
parent reed walls of a private [142]
house at illicit card-playing [291]
after ten o'clock curfew, [302]
to have ground for laying an information. If he wanted excitement, he might chase one of the numerous stray horses and pigs, and lead it in triumph to the pound; or, if all these failed, he need only lie in wait at dusk on the road leading to the plantations for some heedless wretch returning home with his shirt over his arm, to secure a conviction for indecent exposure of the person. If he had a taste for gossip—and what Tongan has not?—he might forestall his own *Inisipekta* by hunting down a flirtation, and haling the delinquents



Promotion-hunting.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

625 [671] before the grim tribunal; but this, being the special sphere of his superior officer, was dangerous ground.

The eighteen policemen of Nukualofa were divided into three "classes" (*kalasi*). Each class was on duty in the police-station for seven days; during the following week they rode about the island picking up from the mayors and village constables materials on which to found charges in the police court; but for the third week they were off duty, and were free to attend to their food-plantations. The Inspector and his assistant took it in turns to be on duty at the station to receive reports. Each policeman was expected to find his own horse, but the Government supplied him with a saddle. He had also to provide his own rations, except during the week he was on duty, when he had the run of a tin of biscuits. The station was a ruinous little building, containing two rooms and a row of ill-ventilated cells. One of Kubu's first acts was to dismantle a number of these cells to make bunks, in which one or two policemen might always be found asleep, while the rest sat on the floor pounding kava. They had no regular beats, and besides attending court and executing distress warrants, their principal occupation seemed to consist in carrying messages for the Cabinet Ministers, who summoned them for the purpose by an electric bell that connected the station with the Premier's office.
625 Besides the native police there was one white constable,
563 who for £50 a-year was content to obey the orders of his native superiors. He was an assiduous officer when sober, and even at other times he could not be described as inactive, if hoisting the American flag of a Sunday afternoon, and fighting any of his colleagues who tried

to haul it down, may be held to establish a claim to 625
energy. [563]

As promotion depended upon the quantity rather than the quality of the prosecutions instituted by the police, they naturally chose those that entailed the least amount of labour. Thefts are troublesome to unravel, therefore 625
thieves were wisely let alone in favour of luckless wights 689
guilty of wearing turbans, or of not wearing girdles within [685]
the town, or of failing to dismount in the presence of a member of the House of Lords; for though the penalty for these offences was only one dollar, yet the convictions would all count for promotion. Less simple, but more interesting, were the prosecutions for flirting; and although the glory of conviction would redound to the sole credit of the *Inisipekta*, yet the policeman who worked up the case had the reward of every good man who fearlessly does his duty.

The mistaken zeal of these assiduous officers was provoking loud murmurs against us. 625
Their little fingers, it 563
was said, were thicker than their predecessors' loins, and I was accused of having destroyed the last lingering respect for a white man in the mind of the Tongan policeman—a respect which even Mr Baker had been at pains to preserve. They pounced upon horses tethered in the road by their European owners and took them in triumph to the pound: under the late Administration the police left white men's horses unmolested. They even built a pound for pigs, and initiated it by the imprisonment of Mr L——'s sow, thus bringing upon me several consular remonstrances headed "*Re* L——'s sow." They trampled under foot the sanctity of private property by pursuing

625 stray cattle into private enclosures; and—last indignity
[563] of all—they made the Consul's servant take his turban
off, and threatened to prosecute him for wearing it. This
625 last piece of effrontery precipitated the crisis, and I lost
671 no time in providing Kubu with a hastily drafted code of
[689] Police Regulations for submission to the Cabinet. They
set forth the offences which the police should prosecute,
and those which should be left to the injured party, and
among the latter class I included flirting, which I considered
to be a matter for the relations of the offenders
rather than for the police. Kubu and Tukuaho both
agreed with me; Tungi and Sateki were doubtful, thinking
it a dangerous innovation. The Chief-Justice did not
understand the question, and therefore voted with us; and
the Minister of Finance was far away in some fiscal problem,
or deep in the difficulties of his domestic commissariat,
and did not vote. So the Regulations were passed
[684] and printed. The police took them cheerfully until they
understood that they were to be debarred from prosecutions
for philandering. When this was explained to them,
a deputation, consisting of the *Inisipeketa* and Peter Vi,—
whose enterprise as spy had won him his heart's desire,
the post of Assistant Inspector,—waited respectfully upon
Tukuaho as representatives of their body. They said that
when they first read the clause they supposed it to be a
mistake, but the Minister had undeceived them. If these
Regulations became law their occupation would be gone.
Thefts? Why, there were but few thefts, and they were
all past finding out, being of various kinds; whereas flirtations
were many and easily fathomable, since their nature

did not vary. But we were obdurate. The law did not 625
make the police moral censors, nor was it so written in 671
the Constitution. The awful word "Konisitutone" silenced argument, and the question was shelved until the meeting of Parliament, when, as I shall presently relate, we were worsted.

IX.

A SCHOOL OF COOKERY FOR ACCOUNTANTS.

000 Mutual confidence has so far decayed in this cynical age that the financial powers of statesmen are usually limited to the disbursement of the money voted to them by the Legislature, while even this limited authority is subjected
645 to the rigid scrutiny of an uncompromising auditor. But
797 Mr Baker saw the ignoble suspicion that such a system
652 implied. He said to King George, "Trust me not at all,
451 or all in all," and thenceforth voted his own supplies, kept his own Treasury, and was his own auditor,—a combination of offices that reflects equal credit upon the intellect that devised it and the high-minded confidence of the people who suffered it to be.

But what public character escapes the self-debasing slings of calumny? There were many who dared to throw doubts upon this arrangement, and to ask how the Honourable and Reverend Shirley Waldemar Baker so far transcended his fellow-men as to be exempted from the audit to which other Ministries are subject. It showed a mean and grovelling spirit; but the hydra-headed body called the public is composed for the most part of mean

and grovelling spirits, who pay their taxes without enthusiasm, 645
and persist in regarding their rulers as men of 797
like passions with themselves. So wise a man as the 652
ex-Premier was not ignorant of the fact that public confidence 451
was worth maintaining, even by pandering to the lower wants of his constituents, and he gave them the independent audit they sighed for. He selected as auditors a doctor, since deceased, an ease-loving soul, who chose life in Tonga because it was far from the irksome conventionalities of an effete civilisation, and the manager of the German firm—both unconnected with his detractors, and above the suspicion of partiality for himself. On the appointed day the books, and as many of the receipts as could be found, were laid before the two auditors, who added up the totals, and ticked off the receipts against the corresponding entries in the ledger. Then they asked for more receipts, and the Premier's office was ransacked without complete success for documents that had been mislaid. The audit dinner followed—a very sumptuous repast, if the viands bore any analogy to the wine-merchant's bill,—the audit certificate was signed, and forthwith printed and published to the censorious world.

The auditors conceived that their business began and ended with the books. If the money spent was all accounted for, it was not their affair to ask the Premier whence he derived authority for building a railway, for whom a cargo of strong liquors was intended, or why his club subscription should be paid from public funds. They were called in as accountants to audit certain books, not to ask irrelevant questions. They had perforce to accept the statement of the books as to the amount of revenue,

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

645 because Mr Baker said they were correct, and there was
797 no means of checking a calculation that was arrived at by
652 the ingenious yet simple method of counting the balance
451 of coin in the safe at the end of the year, and adding it to the expenditure. This, by the way, is the best of all methods for ascertaining one's income, because the sum must come out right. Once a-year the Premier published a financial statement, but with this the auditors had nothing to do, and one must reluctantly confess that it was received by the world with cold suspicion.

I have already related that the fallen statesman was very anxious to take away some of his account-books. Not long after my arrival in Tonga he had written officially to demand them, and to challenge the right of an auditor to examine accounts which (he was pleased to say) had received the approval of Parliament; adding that if any adverse criticisms were made upon his financial transactions, he would demand an independent audit of his own. He was indeed so hyper-sensitive upon the subject of this threatened audit, that we felt a pardonable anxiety to lose no time in setting to work.

One glance at the disorder of the books and papers sufficed to convince me that I could not hope to make a complete audit for months to come, and I therefore wrote to the High Commissioner to ask him for the services of an accountant from the Colonial Government of Fiji. The return steamer brought Mr Forth, the present Auditor of that colony. He was allowed a fortnight only in which to attack his difficult task, and, considering the confusion and deficient information with which he had to contend, he made remarkable progress.

Some time was lost in attempting to begin at the date of 797
Mr Baker's dismissal and work backwards; but with the 645
discovery that many of the vouchers were missing, and 652
that there was no means of ascertaining the exact amount 451
of revenue, we abandoned hope of making a complete audit of the past year, and contented ourselves with a scrutiny of the payments we knew to have been made. But before examining the books for which an audit certificate had been published, I applied to Herr T——, the only surviving auditor, for permission to publish a criticism of these accounts, a request to which he very kindly acceded.

The financial system is worth describing. There was a 652
head-treasury at Nukualofa, and sub-treasuries at Haapai, 651
Vavau, and the two Niuas. The native revenue-collectors were required to pay in their weekly receipts to the subtreasurer, who kept with intermittent exactitude elaborate books ruled in columns for every conceivable head of receipt. When sufficient time had been allowed for accumulation the Premier made a descent upon the subtreasuries, and carried off the money to Nukualofa, amid the murmurs of the men of Haapai and Vavau, who thought that the money should be spent in their own island. When the bags of silver reached the head-treasury, Tubo, the chief clerk, patiently counted it over, entered it in his books as revenue from Haapai or Vavau, as the case might be, and put it into his safe for the liquidation of "Treasury Orders." These "Treasury Orders" were a financial 652
triumph of which any Chancellor of the Exchequer
might be proud. When salaries or accounts became due [436]
the "Paymaster" drew a cheque upon the Treasury,

652 436 which, when countersigned by Mr Baker as Auditor-General, became virtually a floating paper currency until redeemed by presentation at the head-treasury. Let us trace the career of one of these "Treasury Orders" now before me. It was drawn on January 7, 1889, in favour of Sekonaia Tuuhetoka for 27 dollars, probably a quarter's rent of one of the leases in Haapai, since it is indorsed "Department of Leases." It bears Mr Baker's signature lithographed, besides Sateki's name as *Minisita Peimasita* (Minister Paymaster), and S. E. W. Baker's as clerk to the [452] Premier. Tuuhetoka has long ago forestalled this money at the nearest store, and he hands over the "Treasury Order" towards the reduction of his score, in the hope that it may so far soften the heart of the merchant as to procure fresh credit for him. In March the storekeeper buys a cartload of copra from a native, and tenders Tuuhetoka's "Treasury Order" in payment; and a week later the man hands it to the tax clerk in settlement of his poll-tax, now two years in arrear. It is written in the law that the sub-treasurers shall not cash "Treasury Orders," but it is nowhere forbidden to receive them as revenue. So the clerk gives him a receipt in full for his taxes, and the revenue-books show the country to be 27 dollars richer for the worthless paper which has never been debited as expenditure. Then the Premier's descent upon the sub-treasury is made, and the "Treasury Order" finishes its mendacious career in the wastepaper-basket in Nukualofa. Sometimes a "Treasury Order," eight years old, was presented for payment, grimy and frayed from wandering from hand to hand in some distant island, but the finances were conducted on too large a scale to be disturbed by such trifles.

The salary or rent due for 1881 was paid in 1889, and no 652
one but the auditors—who were not expected to worry 436
about such minutiæ—could be one whit the worse.

The "Treasury Orders" served their purpose, however. 652
Printed in Tongan, and countersigned by Sateki, they kept the natives from asking inconvenient questions, and left the Premier free to indulge his overmastering appetite for spending money. The Customs duties and rents were paid by Europeans in cheques upon Australian and New Zealand banks, and these, being beyond the ken of Tongans, were handed over to Mr Baker to be paid into an account in the Union Bank in Auckland, of which he had
the absolute control. To clothe this position with a sort 652
of authority, he kept two sets of books,—the one labelled 451
Agent-General, and the other Auditor-General,—hoping probably to suggest the inference that the Auditor kept a suspicious check upon the Agent. But the Auditor-General seems to have been an easy-going, pliant sort of official, who hated to make himself disagreeable, and contented himself with keeping his books on a plan of his own, which—so great was the sympathy that existed between the two officers—proved to be identical with that adopted by his methodical colleague.

Estimates were made for grovelling spirits. They are a 652
useful check upon incompetent rulers, but a blighting drag upon the soaring genius of a dictator. The Constitution, it is true, says—

> Nor shall any money be paid out of the Government Treasury or debts contracted by the Government but as shall be arranged by the Legislative Assembly excepting in cases of war or rebellion or fearful epidemic or a like calamity and in such case it

652 shall be done with the consent of the Cabinet and the King shall call together at once the Legislative Assembly and the Treasurer shall give the reason why that money was expended and the amount (*sic*).

The Legislative Assembly had not "arranged" that the Agent-General should have the spending of some £6000 a-year at will, nor did a "war . . . or like calamity" warrant him in breaking the Constitution; but he must be held blameless, for we read—

> The Treasurer shall not permit any moneys to be paid out of the Treasury on any consideration whatever excepting in cashing "Treasury Orders" of the Tongan Government duly signed by the Paymaster and the Auditor-General.

645
652 So poor old Goschen was responsible, and upon his grey head would the blow fall if Parliament ever demanded a reckoning. There was a pathos about Goschen's position in the matter. Responsible for public moneys, solemnly required by the Constitution to submit a financial report to Parliament accounting for the last penny, liable to impeachment and other unknown terrors if he were found wanting, he sat placidly upon the hidden mine, agitated only by anxiety as to whether the cravings of his physical nature would be satisfied. But who would have thought of blaming Goschen? He himself had severer views as to his responsibilities than had his colleagues. He had never read the Constitution—his education had been neglected in early youth—and he believed that the duties of a self-respecting Minister of Finance began and ended with the guardianship of the key of the safe, which, as he could trust no other with so precious a charge, hung round his

neck by a shoe-lace. Had Goschen been a less conscientious person, the business of the country could have been continued even while he was providing for his appetite; but since no money could be paid out without the key of the safe, his frequent absences from the Treasury had called forth those remonstrances from his colleagues which I have already related. Now Goschen had a passion beyond the mere satisfaction of his grosser appetites. He was the professor of a dying art. 652 645

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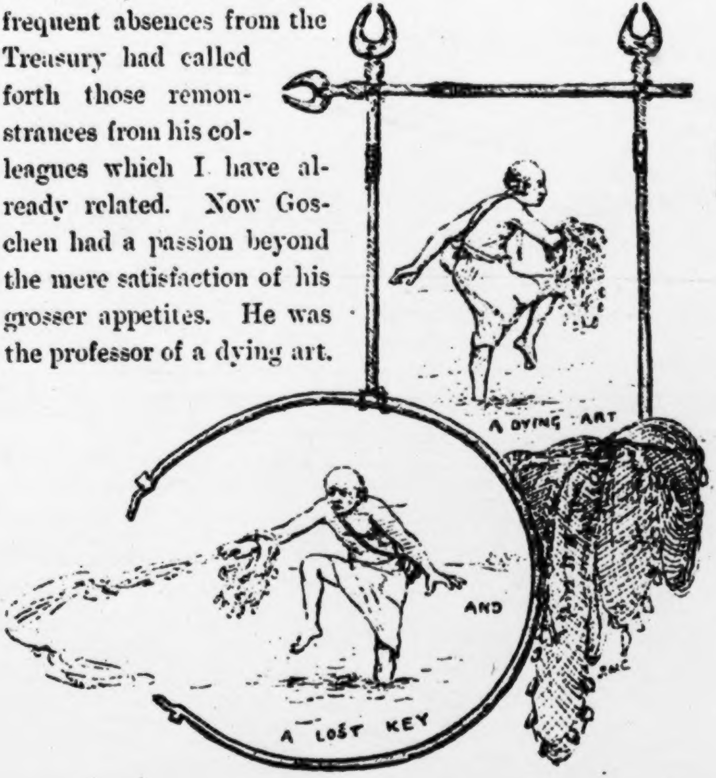

At low tide his lone figure might be seen at the outer edge of the reef in sharp silhouette against the blue water, his *vala* girded up, his hand-net balanced on his forearm, lifting his skinny legs high, and sinking his feet into the 226

226 knee-deep water without making a ripple as he crept
upon his prey. He would poise his body as he watched
the manœuvres of a shoal of little fish, his right arm
would be cautiously drawn back, and would presently
dart out like lightning, cunningly flinging the small
net in a circle round the shoal. Then, with incredible
agility, he would leap upon the net, and transfer the
entangled prey to the fish-basket hanging from his
shoulder. The day came when, after an almost miraculous
haul had demanded special effort from his age-stiffened
limbs, he felt at his neck for the precious key
and found that it was missing. The string had snapt as
he flung the net, and the key lay buried under a foot of
652 water. He felt about for it with his toes; he lay face
645 downwards in the water with his nose upon the coral, and
crawled about with eyes wide open. Four hours later,
when the reef was dry, he made a further unavailing
search with his convict servants. Then he came to make
his confession. His colleagues indulged in no vulgar recrimination.
They had expected it, and their annoyance
was tempered with the reflection that the loss of the key
would be a full and adequate excuse for closing the Treasury
for a time, and for thus allowing funds to accumulate.
Goschen was sternly commanded to make further search,
and a bunch of old duplicate keys from the Premier's office
were tried one by one. A week passed during which
Goschen daily scoured the reef at low tide, and the Premier's
office was ransacked for a duplicate. The situation
began to look serious. A month's salaries were due, and
our creditors were becoming importunate. A locksmith
must be sent for from New Zealand or the iron doors be

burst open. At last, dusty and rust-eaten, in the corner 645 of a drawer a key was found which, when oiled and cleaned, 652 proved to be the duplicate. The Treasury was reopened, and the news spread among the hungry creditors, who formed a continuous stream to and from the building for two days before their claims could be satisfied. But no one thought of telling Goschen. One day, after the Treasury had been open for a week, and the episode of the lost key had been almost forgotten, the old man sat down beside me in the Council-room. His anxieties had added another wrinkle to his furrowed brow, and he longed for a sympathetic ear. "What shall we do?" he said. "I am dead of looking for the key. It is now clear that it is lost. How would it be to break open the doors?" I felt the glow that must have warmed the heart of the pitiful Samaritan, as I told him that his office had been open for at least a week, and watched the smile of deep relief smooth out his harassed features. "*Malo!*" he said, "they never told me;" and he shuffled off to resume control of the finances of the country.

But my admiration for the patient Goschen has led me into a digression. I must return to his fallen chief.

When deep in empirical research into the abstruse science of book-keeping—in which an Auditor-General cannot seek instruction without a loss of public confidence and dignity—one can imagine with what satisfaction the many-sided statesman penned the words "By special vote of the Legislative Assembly;" "By vote of the Privy Council." While the issue of the year's finances lay hidden in the womb of the future, in the midst of uneasy doubt whether there would be cash enough in the

645 safe to pay the serried array of bills, how that ray of
652 order and regularity must have soothed the faint twinges
of a seared conscience! If the words comforted him as he
stifled the remembrance of his own Constitution, who will
645 quarrel with him for writing them? The obsequious Par-
646 liament would have voted the money had they been asked.
652 But to ask them involved a loss of time and prestige, and
detailed explanations, abhorrent to any right-minded dic-
tator, would then have become necessary. If all the bills
before Legislatures were to be actually read through three
times, parliamentary business would be even more dilatory
than it is; and if bills may be taken as read, why may
not money be taken as voted? This must have been the
Auditor-Premier's reflection as he ornamented his ledger
with the soothing phrase; while the Hansard of the Legis-
lative Assembly bore silent witness to the absence of all
money votes but life-pensions to Mr Baker's children and
a doctor's salary.

When the fateful day for balancing the books came
645 round, the poor Auditor-General must have discovered
652 that, besides his revenue and expenditure, he had a *ter-*
451 *tium quid* to reckon with—a mysterious balance one way
or the other that could no more be absorbed than the
waste products of an abortive chemical experiment. One
of his predecessors in the chair of the Wesleyan mission,
a most estimable man, used to be troubled with the same
difficulty when he presented his accounts to his district
meeting. But he never allowed the fact that his credit
and debit columns failed to balance by £5 to ruffle him.
"You have only to subtract £2, 10s. from this column
and add it to the other, and the two will be the same,"

he would say with mild triumph. Whether Mr Baker 645
had sat at the feet of this elder of the Church, or had 652
arrived at the same discovery by an independent chain 451
of reasoning, concerns us not: that he had devised such a process for the absorption of the *tertium quid* may be gathered from a naïve letter of his clerk and accountant, Mr O. Lahnstein, dated the 13th of August 1889: "The differences of $700 and $250 have to be taken out of the books. The easiest way would be by alteration, as the books have not been added up with ink." It must have been a very pretty piece of financial jugglery this absorption of the *tertium quid* among the columns that had not been added up with ink.

When the books were at last balanced, and the fleeting figures caught and fixed with pen and ink, the Annual Statement of Accounts was prepared for publication. There was a haziness of outline about this that invited scrutiny. Items such as "Police uniforms, hardware, parliamentary expenses, tanks, medicine, building materials, lime, &c., £769, 6s. 2d.," flung together in heterogeneous incongruity, provoked speculation as to what the "et-cetera" might comprise; and when the vouchers disclosed the fact that groceries (£35, 19s. 2d.), Mr Baker's subscription to the Northern Club, Auckland, his son's cab, tram, and boat hire (£46), and boots and shoes (£2, 9s. 9d.) were included, it was felt that the search had not been in vain. A wicked curiosity prompted us to write to the fallen Minister to inquire whether his club subscription had not been charged to the Government in error; but if we hoped to abash him, we were much mistaken. He had the honour to inform us that the

645 payment had been approved by his Majesty in Council.
652 The minute-book was silent on the point, and the em-
451 phatic disclaimer of the king and his Ministers has plunged the question in a doubt from which I shall not attempt to extricate it. The £46 spent in cab-hire by the ex-Premier's son could not be impugned, for certain official despatches, written by the son in the family dining-room to his father in the study, beginning and ending, "Sir, I have the honour," showed that the rather stolid youth had spent much of this money in peripatetic diplomacy. He had called upon the British Admiral and a Colonial Minister to discuss the question of national defence and the purchase of ordnance; and his tolerant reception by these dignitaries seems to have turned his head. Even at the Auckland prices £46 would provide a vast number of jaunts, sweetened no doubt by the reflection that they were at the public expense. Possibly the £2, 9s. 9d., paid for boots and shoes on the authority of Mr Baker, junior, as Public Officer, was charged to the Treasury to cover the expenditure of shoe-leather in crossing the curbstone to the cabs.

An absentee First Minister was an expensive luxury to the Tongans. In 1889 it cost the country £171 to provide steamboat passages for him in his frequent trips to Auckland.

Among the miscellaneous items in the published statement is the following disquieting entry:—

Assassination £45 16 9

My hand trembled as I unfolded the voucher, speciously folded and docketed among its innocent fellows,—the

damning evidence of the price of blood, of some poor 645
human life sacrificed to the demands of inexorable state- 652
craft. Had this ex-missionary reverted to the methods of 451
medieval Italian republics to choke opposition? and dared he flaunt his infamy in the pages of his Government 'Gazette,' proclaiming with cynical insolence the exact price to a penny at which he valued human life? But an examination of the voucher brought relief not unmixed with bewilderment. It was headed "Assassination," but the money had been paid to an Auckland coachbuilder for the entire renovation, on the most expensive scale, of the Premier's private carriage. I tried honestly to discover by what process of reasoning the repair of a private carriage at public expense could be classed as Assassination. At last a light broke in upon me. Mr Baker had been driving when he was shot at three years before, and a bullet had struck the splash-board of his carriage. He had always spoken of the attempt on his life as "the Assassination," and he was now soothing his conscience for repairing the ravages of time at public expense in the same way as when he wrote "By special vote of the Legislative Assembly" in his account-books.[1]

The last item in the statement—"Extraordinary expense, £62, 7s. 9d."—included the cost of an enlarged photograph of Mr Baker, besides some other mysterious payments which we were willing to believe deserved the classification given to them, although we could never discover their nature.

In the ledger we found the entry, "Loan Account, 659
795

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[1] I have been told that Mr Baker munificently presented this carriage to the king.

645 £1085." Sateki, the Paymaster, enlightened us. The
652 Free Church was about to hold its annual collection. The
451 enthusiasm had been wrought by soul-stirring sermons to
659 the pitch when a Tongan will strip the coat from his back,
795 and fling it into the basin to win one more shout of
applause; but it chanced that money was tight, there was no copra, and the Civil servants all had debts at the stores. Mr Baker had surmounted such difficulties before when he was a missionary, and he was not to be beaten now that he was Prime Minister as well. He advanced their salaries on the eve of the collection, and stopped the loans out of their pay as it became due. As none of them seem to have died or to have been dismissed before they had had time to earn the amount of their advances, the Government lost nothing but the interest.

659 The financial relations between the Government and
795 the Free Church had been an inexhaustible theme for the
451 Opposition, and there was some disappointment among the
mission party that our revelations were not more startling. There was indeed nothing to reveal, for the only record of these transactions was contained in a few sheets of loose foolscap, evidently compiled from memory within the last few months; for although the transactions had extended over a period of five years, none of the entries were dated. Mr Watkin, the President of the Free Church, assured me that he knew nothing about the state of the account, and in this respect he was probably no more ignorant than his wily colleague. The Treasury seems to have acted as banker to the Free Church, and to have imported at public cost whatever goods were required by the Conference, who paid over money on account from time to time as the

takings of the collection-plate permitted. The account 659
was never adjusted, but the Government is said to have 795
advanced £5177, and to have received £5065, leaving a
balance of £112 still due. When asked to pay this, Mr
Watkin, who appeared relieved at getting off so easily,
only asked for time. The Free Church had been living
beyond its means.

It was hopeless to verify undated transactions five 652
years old, but one strange entry provoked my curiosity. 659
Among the Government disbursements I read, "Loss 795
of mission copra, against—£167, 1s. 5d." In 1889 the 651
Free Church collections were paid in copra, which the
Government bought and stored in their sheds, crediting
the Free Church with £1289, 9s. 3d., the estimated quantity
being 120 tons or more. When, however, this copra
was sold by the Government and weighed out to the
purchaser, it proved to be so much less than the reputed
quantity, that the loss could only be accounted for on
the theory of fraudulent weighing by the native who
received the contribution. Instead of charging the loss
to the Free Church, the Government complacently consented
to bear it.

In a burst of loyalty to his royal master the ex-Premier 645
had, during the closing months of 1886, inaugurated a sub- 643
scription for a statue of King George, to be executed by an 651
Italian artist, and erected in the centre of the Malaekula, 652
the public square of Nukualofa. Money flowed in rapidly.
The High Commissioner headed the list, and scarcely a
European or native in the group failed to give according
to his means. Sateki, as trustee, took charge of the
money, and the Premier was commissioned to order the

645 statue. Four years passed away, during which the
643 curious learned that an artist in Italy was carving the
651 marble at the very moment of the inquiry. But this
652 picture of the patient Italian artist failed to satisfy the subscribers, and I was entreated to track the sealed bag of silver, last seen in the hand of Sateki, and to set the question of its fate beyond a doubt. Sateki remembered the occurrence perfectly. He had given the bag to the Treasury clerk for custody in the safe. That was all he knew. It was the last clerk but one—he who was dismissed for embezzlement. I waded through the incoherencies of the Treasury book till I found the entry I wanted, "Revenue from the Paymaster—£1299, 13s. 6d.,"—the exact amount of the subscriptions—used for purposes of general expenditure. Let us charitably suppose that the purchase of a statue was really intended, and that, when the Premier published the financial statement in which this sum figured as revenue, the divers cares of office had chased the recollection of its purpose from his mind.

652 Among the disbursements for the past year was the following:—

Julian Thomas	£50	0	0
Printing	37	10	0

177 A peripatetic journalist, writing under the pseudonym
114 of "The Vagabond," had passed through Tonga during the previous year, stopping some six hours in Nukualofa, and about half that time in Haapai and Vavau. He was bound for Samoa, where the political squabbles promised to furnish him with material for "copy." Lack of ac-

5

quaintance with his subject never yet deterred a special 177
correspondent—least of all when he hails from Australia 114
—from writing about it. In a style founded upon that of Mr Pomponius Ego, the correspondent immortalised by Mr Jorrocks, he chatters unblushingly of personal adventures in every quarter of the globe, of those playful familiarities which personages seem to reserve for their intercourse with "specials," of the miracles which discriminating Nature disdains to reveal to less gifted mortals,—till the bewildered reader, forgetting the purpose of the letter, finds himself speculating whether Mr Julian Thomas was coeval with his grandfather, and possesses the gift of ubiquity and the personal friendship of the celebrities of half a century, or whether—— But the alternative is too discourteous to be set down here.

It so happened that he was smarting from an action for libel in which the plaintiffs, the Wesleyan Mission, had been successful, and the spectacle of their reverses in the religious strife in Tonga tempted him to turn aside and curse them. In seven long letters to the 'Melbourne Age,' he worked up his seven hours' visit into an indictment of their agents personally and their methods in general, contriving by the way to bespatter Mr Baker with the eulogy of faint dispraise. He wrote of the history of the islands, lacking, we may charitably suppose, the time to read more than the opening chapter of Mariner's 'Tonga,' which he glibly quotes as his authority for the remarkable statement that King George was the grandson of Finau, and that the latter murdered the Tui Tonga. He wrote of Mr George Brown, and so unlovely is the picture that he paints of the gifted Secretary of

114 Missions, that the reader instinctively scrutinises the line-
177 spaces for the record of some affront offered to the special correspondent. "He calls upon me," says the guileless Vagabond, "as the heathen did upon Balaam, to also curse the Premier of Tonga." But not even the son of Beor could surpass Mr Julian Thomas in incorruptibility and a delicate sense of honour; for he at least allowed the Balak to offer burnt sacrifice, and the latter, if we may believe him, feared the blunting influence of even a dinner upon his sensitive conscience. "I may hint here that I am bidden to sit at meat with the king, . . . but neither from monarch nor Premier nor missionary could I accept the slightest hospitality. I do not know what I may have to say about each, and keep perfectly unfettered and unbiassed by any considerations which the reception of any courtesies might enforce upon me. My attitude in this matter rather offends the Tongan Premier."

It is a fine image this of the pressman, after years spent in the hurly-burly of colonial journalism, so punctilious of his honour that he puts behind him the temptations of a meal, lest they turn him from the stern duty which he owes to society. Would that no rude hand had been
652 put forth to smutch so fair a picture! But there in
645 damning evidence lay the voucher "for the right of
[114] reprinting 'Holy Tonga,'" signed by The Vagabond as claimant, and by its side a copy of Mr Baker's letter inviting him to fix his own honorarium, and his reply naming the modest sum of £50.

The letters to the 'Age' were reprinted in Auckland in pamphlet form under the title of 'Holy Tonga,' and a thousand copies now lay upon the floor of the Premier's

office. Since Mr Baker shared with Mr Watkin the 652
honour of The Vagabond's eulogy, the Free Church had 645
with unanswerable logic been debited with half the "honorarium"; but the remaining £62, 15s. was a dead
loss to the Government. The fate of the pamphlet was 652
decided from the moment when a kind friend translated 645
to Tungi the following passage: "Tungi wipes his greasy 114
fingers on his fat thighs, and then looks up at us with a query in his wicked black eyes. . . . He is very obese, the fat swelling into wrinkles on his wrists and legs like those of a prize baby. He looks sensual and wicked, and strikes us as the very model of a black Tiberius."

But the late Premier, probably uneasy as to the view that might be formed regarding his share in the transaction, authorised his son to buy the pamphlet at the price it had cost the Treasury. The offer was tempting in view of the emptiness of the Exchequer, but I could not close with it until the consent of my colleagues had been obtained. The proposal was laid before the Cabinet. Kubu and Tukuaho were against making terms with Mr Baker of any kind: Sateki thought that the money should not be refused; the Chief-Justice did not catch the proposal, and Goschen's thoughts were elsewhere. Then Tungi rose. He had heard, he said, that the book was libellous, and spoke evil of dignities. He thought he remembered seeing the white man who wrote it: he was a man of disreputable appearance (*matamata tu'a*), and he looked as if he drank much strong kava. If the book were sold Mr Baker would distribute it abroad, and Tonga would have an evil smell. 'Holy Tonga' was brought to judgment and condemned to suffer at the stake, like many a

652 better book before it. But the time of execution was put
645 off from day to day, and I strongly suspect that the thousand
114 copies still lie piled away forgotten in the Premier's
back-office.

652 There were no offers to buy back the other extravagances
645 of the late Premier, though the inventory showed
[496] a tempting variety. There was a passenger car to run on
the tram-line from the wharf to the banana plantation; a
[403] safe that cost £150, so large as to be unsaleable even in
Auckland; a book of New Zealand birds costing £11, 11s., bought in order that Mr Baker's name might figure on the title-page as joint patron with the Queen and other personages; an electric-light installation of an antiquated and useless pattern; a full outfit of electrical toys, induction coils, miniature pumps, tiny lights, dancing-dolls, &c.; and a quantity of *quasi*-scientific apparatus stored in the ***Fale Saienisi*** (Science House) at the College; besides a vast quantity of stores of all kinds dissipated among the natives.

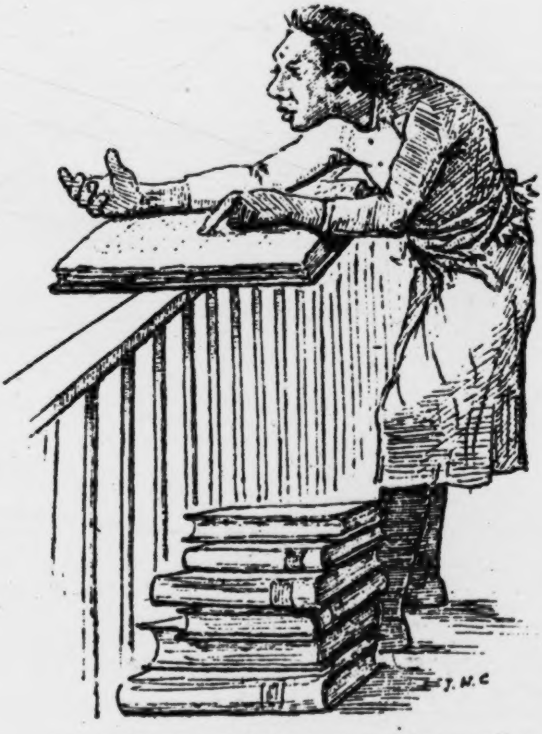
451 We had now to devise some system of book-keeping for
652 the revenue clerks, simplified to suit that peculiar mathematical
talent that can solve a problem in higher algebra without being able to add up a column of figures correctly, yet sufficiently elaborate to admit of an accurate statement of revenue from any source at a given time, and of a check being kept upon dishonest officials.

We abolished at one sweep the old books with their complicated headings, and substituted common cash-books
451 for them. The revenue collectors gave printed receipts
652 for every payment made to them, retaining a duplicate to
651 show to the officer who audited their books. Once a-week

they paid their revenue to the sub-treasurer, who gave 451
them a receipt, which they sent every month, pinned to a 652
copy of their cash-books, to Nukualofa. The sub-treasurer 651
had also to post a copy of his book to the capital, where
it was carefully compared with the receipts he had given
to the revenue collectors. If they failed to agree, it was
plain that the sub-treasurer had received more than he
accounted for, and any defalcations of the revenue col-
lectors could be checked by an examination of the num-
bered butts of their receipt-books. Embezzlement could
therefore only pass unnoticed if the sub-treasurer and the
revenue collectors were in league to defraud the country.
This elementary trap was no sooner set than it secured a 451
quarry. The monthly statement of the sub-treasurer of 652
Vavau tallied with the receipts he had given to the 651
revenue collectors in so far as the total was concerned; 687
but the various items, when added up, fell short of the
reputed amount by some 70 dollars. Each item had been
clipped in accordance with a system that had probably
been going on for years without detection. Explanations
were called for; but the sub-treasurer took the high
ground that as it cast a personal reflection on his honour,
the demand was beneath his notice. My colleagues
were loath to proceed to extremities; for the defaulter
was highly connected in Vavau, and was likely to use his
influence to estrange the Civil servants already wavering
in their loyalty to the Government. He was, moreover,
the pet clerk of old Inoke Fotu, Kubu's father, on whose
devotion we counted to defeat the hostile influence of
Manase, the Governor. But I was firm. Campbell had
established the defalcations without a doubt; the facts

451 were well known to numbers of the native clerks; and to
651 allow so flagrant an offence to go unpunished would be to
652 invite dishonesty from all our employees. Tukuaho at
687 last gave way so far as to consent to the man's dismissal, if I would allow him to bring the end about in his own way. He showed me a letter from the defaulter in which he forgave him (Tukuaho) from his heart for the wrong he had done him. It was, he wrote, not Tukuaho's fault that so wicked a conspiracy had been formed, for he knew that it was the work of these deceitful foreigners who were his advisers; and in a magnificent peroration he besought him by their common God, Jehovah (with whom they both appeared to have relations of an intimacy denied to deceitful foreigners), to become the saviour of his country by casting out his two advisers, especially *Kamibeli*, and by restoring him (the writer) to the eminence to which his own superior qualities had raised him. The tone of the letter was magnanimous throughout, and from a clerk guilty of embezzlement to the Premier of the country it would have been a startling production in any other part of the world. Tukuaho's object was to get the man away from his friends in Vavau before dealing with him. He therefore invited him to clear himself before the Cabinet in Nukualofa, handing over his office during his absence to the sub-treasurer of Haapai. He swallowed the bait, and in due course stood at the bar of the Council-house to clear his character before his Majesty's Ministers. He was a large cow-faced man, with his lips pursed into a perpetual whistle. I was commissioned by Goschen to prefer the charge, and described the discrepancy between his monthly statement and the receipts

he had given to the revenue collectors. The accused was 451
calm, collected, and perfectly respectful. He had with 651
him his books for the last three years, and he proceeded 652
to read them, pausing at intervals to take breath and to 687



"He had with him his books for the last three years."

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explain that, but for Mr Baker of execrable memory, the matter would be clear to a person of even Campbell's limited comprehension. Although his harangue had as much to do with the point at issue as it had with the

451 English Budget, I could see that the array of figures had
651 produced a favourable impression. It was in vain that
652 I put direct questions to the accused about the missing
687 $70; he continued blandly to quote the monetary transactions of past years with the superior consciousness of convincing argument. Goschen was nodding; Tungi wore the expression of a disinterested spectator at a prize-fight; Kubu was honestly trying to understand what it was all about; and Tukuaho was wavering between his faith in me and his respect for the display of erudition on the part of the defaulting treasurer. At my instance the accused was cut short, and ordered to withdraw while we discussed the matter. As soon as he was released from the spell of the treasurer's bovine countenance, Tukuaho pointed out that, whether the charge was proved or not, it was clear that the books were badly kept to have given rise to any doubts on the score of the treasurer's honesty; and as the work was going on very well in his absence, he thought he should be relieved of active employment until the meeting of Parliament, who might reinstate him if they pleased. This middle course having been agreed to, the cow-faced sub-treasurer was sent home to do his worst with the members for Vavau. Alas for human propositions! When Parliament did meet, his grievances were forgotten in the intoxication of debate, and in the enthusiasm evoked by a Ministry who catered well for the physical wants of its supporters. Manase, his chief ally, was himself impeached, and his case never even came to a hearing.

X.

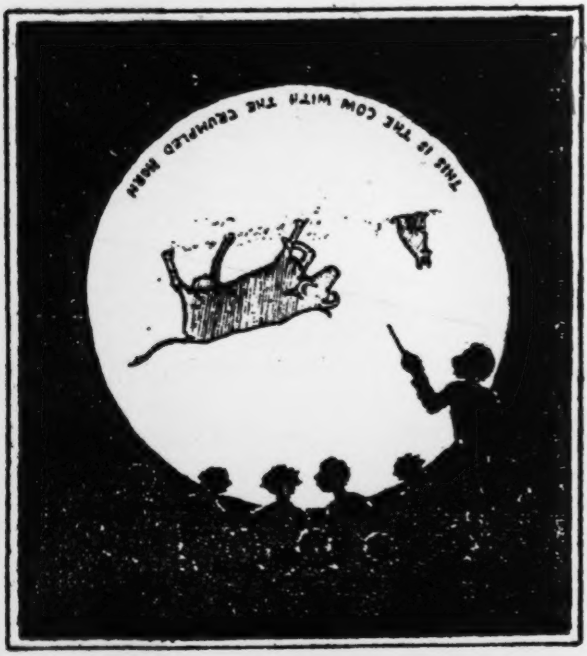
THE WOLF AT THE DOOR.

There were several troublesome claims upon the Government 652
to be settled. One of the steamboat companies was 659
receiving a Government subsidy of £50 a-month, and
alleged a twelvemonth's contract as a reason for its continuance.
We did not want the steamer, nor could we
afford to pay the subsidy. Fortunately our predecessor's
rooted objection to being bound by paper stood us in good
stead. There was no formal written contract, and the
claim was compromised. Another New Zealand firm declared 652
that Mr Baker had promised to sell them 500 tons
of copra at current market rates in return for their complacence
in lending him money at a time when he was hard
pressed for it. We had repaid the borrowed money, and
we had already sold all our tax copra to another firm for
a higher price. In this case also no written agreement
was forthcoming. I proposed arbitration by the Consul-General.
The case was referred to his law officers, and
decided in our favour. The claimants were Plymouth
Brethren, and if all the elect are as sharp in business as
they were, they are likely to enjoy the good things of this

652 life as well as of the next. Except for trivial amounts, they put their trust in no one; for it was currently reported that the agent in Tonga wrote to his partners in New Zealand telling them to fully insure all goods of over £50 in value, but that they might trust shipments of lesser value "to the care of Almighty Providence."

658 These difficulties were no sooner settled than a new source of annoyance broke forth. Mr Baker, just before his departure, had engaged a schoolmaster for the Government College for five years, at an annual salary of £200, which the impoverished Treasury was quite incapable of paying. He was offered, and accepted, a sum of £100 and a free passage to Sydney in full release of all claims 658 he might have upon the Government. But before he left 877 Tonga he had made a secret compact with the College boys to return if his salary could be collected. The lads, actuated partly by a genuine desire for education, and partly by a boyish delight at their new-found importance, had gone to the king with Maafu—who joined them in the hope of annoying Tukuaho—and persuaded him to countermand the arrangements made for the schoolmaster's departure. The order arrived in Nukualofa too late, and before the man could be recalled from Sydney his communications to the Australian newspapers had effectually dissipated the king's wish for his return. But the scholars of the College, all thirsting for excitement, set themselves to raise contributions to pay the salary, and formed themselves into a guild to encourage educa- 658 tion and defy the Government. The College had a brass 877 band and a magic-lantern: these were embarked in the 544 545 Malokula, and taken off to Haapai and Vavau as the

nucleus of an entertainment for a money-collecting tour. 658
Tukuaho, Tungi, and Fatafehi were indignant, but power- 877
less to interfere. The entertainments were reported to be 544
an immense success. The band paraded the towns, and 545
took the half-dollars at the doors, and exhibited in rapid


THIS IS THE COW WITH THE CRUMPLED HORN

succession lantern-slides of the Holy Land and "The house that Jack built," with a fine disregard to subject and sequence. The people cheerfully paid their half-dollars, dimly understanding that the money was to be used in embarrassing the Government. At last the glass chimney of the lantern broke, and the schooner made a

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

658 special voyage to Nukualofa to beg a new chimney from
877 Tukuaho. It was high time to interfere with these boyish
544 escapades, and we therefore temporised, sending a message
545 to the band that they had overstayed their leave, and
would be expelled unless they came back. This brought them to their senses, and they sailed in with flags flying, and the big drum beating defiance. They were forthwith assembled, and offered the choice between obedience to orders or expulsion. They were at first inclined to be mutinous, but on the reflection that the instruments were Government property they became more amenable to discipline.

645 Tonga is not the first State whose public affairs have
837 been deranged by feminine frailty. Was there not a
Mark Antony? But Mark Antony did not write shorthand nor keep the minutes of the Council, and it may therefore be doubted whether he was as necessary to the dying Republic as Uiliame Umufuke, *alias* Mataka, was
[212] to the kingdom of Tonga. Mataka was invaluable. He
knew all the secrets of the Cabinet and Privy Council, yet his mouth was closed; he understood the business of each office better than the head of the Department; he could take down a speech in shorthand faster than the speaker could utter the words; and he was a more useful spy and detective than fat Peter or any of his satellites. A blow was struck at the wellbeing of the State when Mataka got into trouble, for there was but one inexorable law for the rich and the poor, the indispensable and the unnecessary.

Mataka's troubles fell on this wise. Tukuaho had a fair cousin, Lobase, who had espoused Lulu the bandmaster,

now absent in Vavau in the train of the magic-lantern. 645
Mataka, it seems, had been indiscreet. and Lulu had 837
instructed the *Inisipekta* of Police to prosecute on his behalf. I know nothing of the details—they did not interest me; I only know that Mataka and Lobase were weighed in the scales of justice, and that their scale kicked the beam. Mataka's seat was empty next morning, and the office was disorganised. Sibu made four mistakes in his first letter, and could not find the correspondence
register. Later in the day, in the person of a sulky convict [684]
with cropped head unloading a banana waggon, I recognised the Clerk of the Privy Council.

The frail fair meanwhile, being unable to find the 60 [684]
dollars required to pay her fine, delivered herself up to work it out at the rate of 1s. a-day, and was told off to
G.'s household. She was a fair specimen of the grisette 837
of the country, coquettish, naïve, and thoroughly frivolous. Her views of life were matured. She was born into the world, she said, to enjoy herself, and as the capacity for enjoyment wanes when one is old and ugly, pleasures must all be crowded into the fleeting hours of youth. She had heard that there were people who gave their hearts once and for all—she could indeed dimly imagine the condition of mind that brought it. It was very nice and all that, but her own experience was different. She had been in love a great many times, and always just as much each time. What made her fall in love? She did not know. She supposed that the man surpassed all others for strength and beauty—then she loved him, and after a while he grew to seem less handsome in her eyes, and she saw another who surpassed even him. No! She never

837 loved Lulu. He was her husband, chosen for her by her friends: moreover, he was an angry man.

Lobase's punishment sat lightly on her. In due course bandmaster Lulu returned and compounded the matter with the jailer; but even this did not seem to soften the heart of his spouse. Less than a week after his return he burst into my office in great excitement to complain that band practice was impossible because his cornet was locked up in his house, and "the woman Lobase" had hidden the key. The conjugal recriminations, when she was called upon for explanations, were bitter and shrill. Poor Lulu! His band in the act of rehearsing the grand march from Tannhäuser was easier to manage than his fair but fickle wife.

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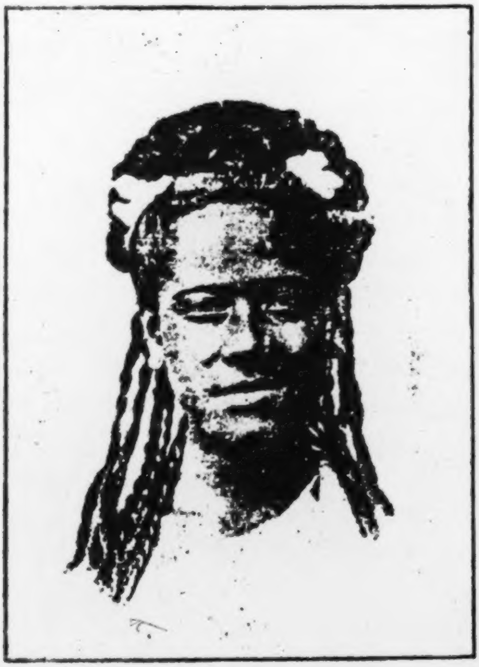

Lobase.

181 There is a lack of thoroughness about the Tongans. They pine to live like Europeans, to own implements and horses and saddlery, yet not one of them can bake a loaf

of bread, nor forge a bolt, nor splice a strap. Their thirst 181
is not for knowledge, but for showy accomplishments: their
genius is frothy and ephemeral. This moral untidiness
pervades everything. In the king's palace there is a [644]
throne-room furnished like an Australian parlour, with [352]
Kidderminster carpet, ormolu ornaments under glass [513]
shades, and crewel-work mats on the tables,—the whole [264]
in unimaginable order,—while in a bare room on the
ground-floor the king sleeps on his mat spread on the
boards, and eats his yams from a single plate. A Cabinet [264]
Minister may be seen sitting on the floor of his well-furnished
office eating his mid-day meal from a large dish
with his fingers. The Minister of Police bustles about his [625]
work, delighted with the new routine he imperfectly understands.
"It is excellent," he says with enthusiasm; [645]
only he cannot say how many officials draw pay in his
department, nor can the Premier as Minister of Education.
The latter thinks that they are paid in proportion to the [465]
number of their pupils, but he does not know for certain.
Shrewd old Sateki, the Auditor-General, alone is not enthusiastic. 645
He dares to think that some day his work 181
will be plain to him, but at present his mind is darkened.
He is a really dependable subordinate this Sateki, but
I can see that he sighs for the day when he received
his orders, right or wrong, and had only to carry them
out without the responsibility of deciding anything for
himself.

He was the only official besides Tukuaho who attended 645
his office every day. The pay of the Civil servants was 647
fixed on the supposition that they should have time for the [465]
cultivation of their food-gardens. The clerks had to attend

645 their offices on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, but
647 they were free on all other days in the week. This
[465] arrangement had its inconveniences, but so long as it
afforded a reason for not increasing the salaries, it could
645 not be altered. Tukuaho did his best to attend every day; but funeral feasts or the requirements of religion (he was a local preacher) often interfered to keep him from the office, and I had to content myself with the reflection that he was advancing our interests by the not less effective means of making friends with the mammon of unrighteousness. But the others did not even keep the short hours required of them. Not many days after our first Cabinet Council there was a fresh alarm that the Treasury was closed again on a Friday. A policeman was despatched in hot haste to fetch the Treasury officials, and in ten minutes a melancholy procession filed into the office, headed by Goschen. "This is Friday," I began, "and the Treasury is closed again at three o'clock. How is our work to go on under such conditions?" The aged Minister and his satellites crouched cross-legged before me like a lot of naughty schoolboys. "We were in church," said Goschen, solemnly. This spiked my gun, and I handed them over to Tukuaho, who knew more of their spiritual requirements than I.

526 The Tongans are a race of athletes. In foot-races and feats of strength, notably the tug-of-war, they have generally worsted the blue-jackets whom they have challenged, but their real passion is cricket. Soon after its introduction the game became a national danger. The plantations were neglected; the cocoa-nuts lay rotting on the ground: for the whole population played cricket from

dawn till dusk all over the island, with a bat if they 526
could get it, but otherwise with a cocoa-nut branch and
an unripe orange. They played matches, one village 526
against another, and all the men of each village took 628
an innings. With perhaps seventy-three on one side and
fifty-two on the other a match lasted for days; and party
feeling sometimes ran so high that at the end the losers
fell upon the victors with the bats and stumps to avenge
their disgrace. This was all changed when cricket was
regulated by law, and confined to Tuesdays and Thursdays
only; besides, the heat of the cricket-passion has had
time to cool. But I record the matter if only to serve
the speakers at cricket-dinners with a useful illustration.

The two principal papers in Auckland were bespatter- 114
ing us with satirical abuse. This was not unexpected, for 177
we had been warned that Mr Baker was a shareholder in
one of them. It is good for a Government to be reviled by
the press—it produces a healthy glow of reaction, like a
shower-bath on a cold morning; but we owed money in
Auckland, and were dependent upon our credit for our supplies.
I had a weapon to brandish over the head of one of 114
these organs: the Government printing was done in its office, 177
but I could scarcely insist on its closing its columns to 659
hostile criticisms without providing it with a correspondent
free from prejudice. I knew of no one in Tonga at
the time who could be trusted to write without bias
against the new Administration except myself. I therefore
had a message conveyed to the proprietors of the
'Herald' that we could not continue to give our printing
to a hostile journal, and that if they wanted our custom
they must amend their tone. If their "own correspon-

114 dent" was past reform, I promised to provide them with a
177 monthly letter. To the 'Star' I wrote that we were think-
659 ing of dividing our printing if we could find a friendly firm to undertake a portion of it, but that the inimical tone of their paper had hitherto prevented us from doing so. If, however, they would adopt an impartial attitude, I should be glad to meet them half-way by supplying regular news. Thenceforth I became "Our own Correspondent" to both papers, and wrote by each mail two separate letters, alike only in their colourless stolidity, in which neither favour nor ill-will to the Government of Tonga shocked the eye, and the printing was divided. This arrangement was not made too soon, for the wordy effusions of the disappointed schoolmaster, had they appeared in print, would have created a panic among our creditors.

795
798 The impartiality of the Government in sectarian disputes had had the effect of allaying to some extent the bitter feeling between the rival Churches. But the Wesleyans still suffered disabilities, and were far from satisfied. The *abi*, or plantations of the ministers, confiscated during the disturbances, had not yet been given back to them, and indeed could not be restored without injustice to the present occupants, who were given possession in good faith by the late Government. The Free Church ministers still had possession of a quantity of timber, some windows, and a church bell, bought with the mission funds, and refused to give them up, on the ground that they were paid for with the subscriptions of the Wesleyans who have since turned to the Free Church. No doubt the property was vested in the trustees of the Wesleyan Church, but I urged forbearance, for every day of harmony was a gain

to the Wesleyan cause worth far more than the value of 795
the trumpery church property said to be unlawfully de- 798
tained. So long as the Rev. George Brown remained in
Tonga as the head of the mission the Wesleyans showed 795
the most admirable self-restraint. They bore their disa- 798 797
bilities with good temper, and did not run the risk of irritating the susceptibilities of the Free Church ministers by attempting to regain any of their lost ground. But he was the General Secretary of Missions, and could not continue to stay in Tonga now that his Church was no longer in imminent danger of extinction. As soon as his restraining influence was withdrawn, and Mr C—— became the head of the mission, there was a change. He was an amateur lawyer, whose natural turn for hair-splitting polemics had been sharpened by much bandying of words with Tongan magistrates during the Reign of Terror. In an evil hour he came to Nukualofa, and with his brother-in-arms began to plan cutting-out expeditions into the enemy's country. They held the fallacious belief that the people were only deterred by fear of the king from returning to the bosom of their old Church, and that since a period of toleration had been proclaimed they might safely hold services again in the villages that they had lost. It chanced that an old woman from Havelu had lately been reconverted, and she, questioned as to the spiritual attitude of her fellow-villagers, declared that they were only waiting for a favourable opportunity to follow her example. Mr C—— consulted the impetuous Kubu, who told him that there would be no danger in holding services again in Havelu, and upon the following Sunday a chosen band of native teachers rode thither,

795 and reopened the long-disused church with a thanksgiving
798 service. In the evening the Free Church held a
797 *bolotu*, and in the excitement of that inebriating act of
worship vowed that they would not again suffer their
village to be desecrated by the hosannas of the *Fakaongo*.
795 Each speaker surpassed the last, until nine fanatics rushed
798 out of the church for their axes and fell upon the Wesleyan
797 church, hacking at the tie-beams until the roof fell
685 in with a crash. The news reached Nukualofa very late
on the Sunday night, and before daylight the nine men
of action had been haled to the police station, and thrown
into the dark cells. Then the fiery Kubu, having had
time for reflection, came to me for advice. I called at
the mission-house and tried to point a moral. The
reverend gentlemen were not a little aghast at the (to
them) unexpected result of applying a match to dry
gunpowder, and were as anxious as I to repair the damage
they had done. The men had been arrested for rioting.
They could not be kept in jail, but it would not be politic
to let them out without trial. On the other hand, if they
were severely punished there would be a new outbreak of
[696] indignation against the *Fakaongo*. I suggested that they
should be brought before a magistrate that afternoon, and
that Mr C—— should attend to beg them off on condition
that they rebuilt the church. He seemed to feel quite a
glow of Christian forbearance in anticipation of the lustre
that so politic an act would shed upon him. An intimation
of the stage arrangements was conveyed to the magistrate.
The culprits — the only actors in the scene who
had not learned their parts—had been so calmed by nine
hours in the dark cells that they were ready to promise

anything, and the magnanimity of the Wesleyans in 795
begging them off was not without its effect. A disagreeable 798
crisis was thus averted, but the incident did 797 685
considerable damage to the cause of the mission.

Church matters were not going smoothly at Vavau. 795
The mayor of a small village took the opportunity of the 798
change of Government to turn Wesleyan, and Manase, the 634
Governor, immediately dismissed him. The right of dismissal [645
of Civil servants, including mayors, is vested only 647]
in the Premier, and therefore Manase was obviously exceeding
his powers; but being a bigoted Free Churchman,
without sufficient brains to see that the Church had now
to learn to stand alone without bolstering from the State,
he did not stop to think of legality. If Manase's action
had been one of intolerance only, I do not think that we
should have interfered, for the coveted end of sectarian
peace would have been better served by the patient endurance
of all present injuries for the sake of allaying the
natural irritation of the Free Churchmen at the change
in their circumstances; but Manase had wilfully broken
the law, and this could not be passed over. Tukuaho [645]
wrote to order him to reinstate the mayor: Manase took
no notice of the letter. To a stronger command he replied
that "it was not his wish that any *Fakaongo* should hold
office," and therefore he could not reinstate him. This [643]
was a declaration of war, but the king only had power to
dismiss a governor, and he was at Vavau at the time, and
more likely to listen to Manase than to his Ministry.
News from the distant islands of Niuafoou and Niuatobutabu 795
was equally disquieting. No sooner had Kubu and 798
Sateki set sail than Tuia of the former and the powerful

795 Maatu of the latter island began simultaneously to intimidate
798 the Wesleyans. "Mr Baker might be gone," they said, "but the church that Tubou set up was still standing, and they, as his deputies, would allow no other within his dominions. As for what Kubu said about toleration, that was a lie. Tubou had not changed." Maatu was reported to have reached Vavau about the time that Manase had declared his defiance of the Ministry, and it seemed not improbable that their false representation to the king would land us in still deeper embarrassments.
643 It was clear that at all hazards we must get hold of the
645 king, or, if we could not persuade him to come to the capital, take it in turns to shepherd him at Vavau. We decided to first send Tukuaho and his father Tungi, on the understanding that they would call at Haapai and persuade Fatafehi to accompany them, since he had the greatest influence with the king. At the last moment Tungi, who is too old for any diplomacy that involves physical exertion, withdrew—as every one had prophesied—and Tukuaho sailed on the 16th of October, undertaking to return in eight days with or without the king.

652 Two months had now elapsed since my arrival, and, but for the Customs dues, we were still existing upon credit. To retain the wavering loyalty of our Civil servants we had paid them a month's salary, and had given a public assurance that the arrears due to them by our predecessors would be dealt with by Parliament. With the remnant of our slender balance we had paid a quarter of our liabilities to merchants in New Zealand and Sydney—some £1500—so as to restore our credit abroad, but we had now to depend solely upon the arrears of the poll-tax

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

for our current expenses. Before all things I was resolved 652
not to negotiate a loan, and so exchange one set of liabilities
for another, besides setting my colleagues a dangerous
example which they were sure to follow in future times
of financial embarrassment. It was better to make our
creditors wait, and silence them by doling out instalments
from time to time. I must now make a disgraceful confession. 652
Among the letters in the postmaster's office were 205
a number from firms in England and America which deal
in postage stamps, some of which had enclosed considerable
sums of money. The Treasury was in dire straits,
and a sum of £200 well worth a sacrifice of self-respect.
We determined to change our stamps. The change could
be effected for £40, and the sale of our old stamps, thus
enhanced in value, would bring us in £200 or more. I
have since heard that a year later the Government of
Costa Rica descended to the same disreputable expedient,
but I believe I may fairly take to myself the discredit of
being the first to devise the scheme.

Many a time did I curse the complaisancy of Tukuaho 651
in binding his people to pay in copra when they were
so ready to pay in coin. Numbers had been turned away
from the tax-office with money in their hands, vowing
that they would not hire a cart to carry their copra
along miry roads for many miles when they could sell
it advantageously to the storekeeper in their own village.
The main road from the interior branched just [491]
opposite our house, one branch leading to the Government
copra-sheds and the other to the stores of the
traders. At the sound of wheels I used to come out to
watch the copra-laden carts reach the turning. If they

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

651 turned to the left they were loyal subjects of King George, going to pay their just debts to his Government; if they took the straight road on they were traitors and renegades, who loved filthy lucre better than the honour of their country. I tried to guess from the drivers' faces which way they would turn. "Here," I thought, "is a loyalist." The mild-faced, semi-clerical-looking driver left the reins slack on the horse's neck: the cart creaked onward. For one moment it seemed to pause as if about to turn off, but it was fancy: the horse did not leave the middle rut, and the driver was a traitor in loyalist clothing after all. Clumsily disguised though, for I used then to remember that he had a cunning expression about the mouth, for all his assumed benevolence. Once a long string of carts going towards the traders so exasperated me that I sent a servant to waylay the next comer, and to tell him to take his freight to the Government stores.

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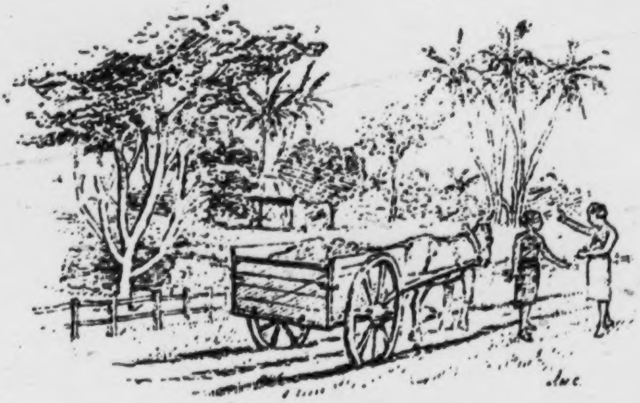


"There was an animated discussion."

The cart stopped, and there was an animated discussion. 651 My envoy was apparently successful, for at last the wheels creaked again, and I saw it crawling down the road to the left. But when I saw the store-books that evening I found that no copra had been received. The man had taken the road to escape my importunity, but as soon as he was out of sight he had diverged along the beach towards the traders' stores.

Through the influence of the Wesleyan missionaries, [795] who were anxious to compare favourably in loyalty with their rivals, a few of the *Fakaongo* had paid their arrears, but not enough to satisfy the contractor, who was becoming restive as time passed and his prospective profits grew more and more hazy in the distance. He now proposed [652] to lend the Government money, thinking, no doubt, that if he could put us under an obligation to him, we should bring a pressure to bear upon the defaulters more effectual than the mere threat of seizure and sale of their chattels; but we "feared the Greeks even when bringing gifts," and declined. He objected to the issue of writs of distress, thinking rightly that the majority would prefer even that disagreeable formality to a few days' steady work.

The captain of the mail-steamer that arrived about this 797 time put into the hands of the Government a parcel of 645 printed papers, which had been handed to him by Mr 578 Baker for secret conveyance to some of his friends to distribute among the natives. Not wishing to involve himself in the turgid politics of the little kingdom, or to infringe the Customs law, he landed it at the Customhouse like any other parcel of merchandise. It proved to be an ingenious mistranslation in Tongan of the letter of

797 prohibition, the High Commissioner being styled throughout
645 as "the Governor of Fiji," probably in the hope of
578 exciting native jealousies of their despised neighbours
interfering in Tongan affairs. As it was doubtless sent
to pave the way for more seditious documents, and was
designed to further disturb the native mind, a Cabinet
Council was summoned to consider the propriety of
[671] confiscating the packet. It so happened that Mr Baker,
fearing hostile criticism in the vernacular, had passed an
Act that all printed documents should bear an *imprimatur*,
on pain of heavy penalties; and this Act being still in
force, the temptation to hoist him with his own petard
was too great to be resisted. The packet was accordingly
seized and burned with due indignity in the backyard of
the police station by Ula, the jailer. From an angry protest
in the Auckland 'Star' we learned that our shaft had
gone home: at any rate, we were troubled no more with
seditious papers.

XI.

VAVAU.

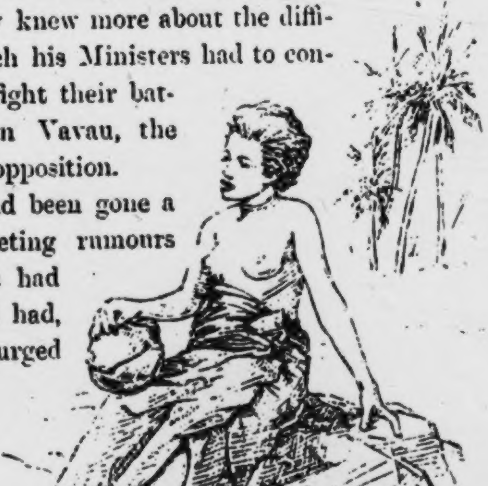
MANY pens have written of Vavau. Missionaries have extolled it for its sensational conversion to Christianity; journalists have described it as a future health-resort; a naval officer has enlarged upon the natural defences of its harbour; Byron, mixing up the two books on the Pacific of his day, Mariner's 'Tonga' and the 'Mutiny of the Bounty,' describes it in the "Island" with more rhyme than geographical accuracy; and lastly, Mr St Johnstone, a sentimental young gentleman into whose soul the smell of cocoa-nut-oil had entered, raved of the beauty of its scenery and its women. In short, for its size and its distance from the civilised world, Vavau has had its full share of paper and printing-ink. 181

But it deserves it all. The harbour may be a little less safe, the girls on nearer inspection a little greasier and less virtuous than they are painted, but the scenery, and the indescribable romance that clings about the miniature precipices of the wild Liku, cannot be exaggerated.

The king had come and gone. By his great *fono* he had 643 sown a seed that would certainly have borne fruit if he

643 had stayed to water it, but this he would not consent to do. His church was still a-building in Vavau, and, unless he were there, the people would be wasting their time in selling oranges and copra. For a while he must do the work of God, after which he would return to his worldly duties. I was fain to acquiesce, hoping that as the king now knew more about the difficulties with which his Ministers had to contend, he would fight their
[142] battles for them in Vavau, the
[291] head centre of opposition.

[302] But ere he had been gone a fortnight disquieting rumours
651 reached us. He had
[643] held a *fono*, and had, as he promised, urged the payment of taxes; but in defiance of our orders the Governor, Manase, had accepted these taxes in money. This was a breach of implied contract with the firm who had tendered for the tax-copra, and although they had taken advantage of Tukuaho's inexperience to obtain the contract, and had therefore little claim upon our consideration, I felt that we were morally bound by Tukuaho's word to refuse to accept money for taxes until after Dec-



A girl of Vavau.

ember. The Free Church had taken this opportunity for 651
holding their annual collections in Vavau, and the people, [794]
having sold all their available copra to get money for the
church, had none left from which we could draw for the
benefit of the contractor. With this news came stories [795]
of persecution in the Niuas. The Wesleyans were again [798]
being persecuted, and it was rumoured that the people
had formed a league to pay no taxes. We held a Cabinet 645
meeting, and resolved that the four principal members of the Cabinet, Tukuaho, Fatafehi, Kubu, and myself, should make a tour through the islands as far as Niua. The mail-steamer was to drop us at Niua on her way to the north, and a schooner was to be sent from Vavau to bring us back. But at Vavau the state of affairs was so unsatisfactory that it was decided to leave me behind to settle matters with the copra-contractor.

At the moment of entering the landlocked channel 181
to the harbour one passes into a different atmosphere. The mood of the people of Tongatabu and Haapai matches their flat shores. They cover their restlessness with a crust of reserve even as the honeycomb of water-caves is hidden by plains and palm-groves: but in this land of orange-trees and wild precipices lives a different race. There is an unquiet activity about them, a vivacity of manner, a use of gesture to illustrate speech never seen among their cousins of the southern islands. The air, heavy with the scent of orange-blossom, is yet full of impulse. The men stride down to the wharf to meet the steamer, not ashamed to show that they have curiosity: the girls assemble in groups on the grassy road to chaff new-comers with an easy familiarity more respect-

181 able than the mission primness of the Tongatabu maidens,
whose discreet deportment invites suspicion.

245 From the wharf one climbs a grassy slope, and straight-
way one is in the orange-groves. The whole town is an
orange-garden. Beneath the dark shiny foliage lie piles
of rotting fruit, half-concealed by the rank couch-grass.
Some of the trees are bent with their green load, others
are white with blossom, for the crops succeed each other
342 with little intermission. Behind the long rows of trees
nestle the brown thatched houses, set down, as it were,
upon the grass like the toy cottages of a child.

133 There is no beach here. The shores of the inlet are steep
to, and the main road runs along the edge of the cliff.
344 On this road stands the "Palace," a barn-like decaying
structure of wood, from which the paint has long ago been
[352] washed by successive rainy seasons. Poor Laifone main-
[513] tained the place with magnificence,—that is to say, there
[264] were marble mantelpieces (never paid for), cut-glass de-
canters, china, plate, whips, walking-sticks, boot-trees,
ornaments, and saddles scattered in heaps over the fur-
niture and floors, very dirty and in indescribable confusion;
while the royal master of all this luxury slept on the floor,
ate his meals with his fingers, and drank his liquor simply
from the black bottle without the intermediary of a cut-
glass decanter. But now even those glories have departed,
and the house is empty except when the king pays a fly-
366 ing visit to Vavau. Beyond the "Palace" were the stores,
[439] built on the seaward side of the road for greater facility
in shipping copra, which comes next to oranges as the chief
563 product of Vavau. These stores, kept by rival traders
441 struggling for the custom of the passing Tongans, breed by

their juxtaposition an inextinguishable hate in the breasts of their proprietors. Flung together in this outer corner of the world, the Europeans did not scruple to slander one another to the natives, a fact that would alone suffice to account for the low estimation in which Europeans are held in Tonga. A wicked slander has it that no fresh meat can be eaten in Vavau because a sheep is too much for one family, and no man is on good enough terms with his neighbour to ask him to share with him. These men are nearly all substantial traders. Living harder lives, and dealing with a more energetic class of natives, than their compatriots in Tongatabu, more than one of the Germans could, if he sold out, realise £20,000, made in a few years from a wretched little store built and furnished without capital. The Englishmen, here as elsewhere in the Pacific, were behind the Germans in wealth, as they were in industry and frugality, and as they were before them in the faculty of meddling in the local politics.

563
441
[609]

I found that for once there was something resembling unanimity among the traders of Vavau, who were generally too busy to care about politics, and paid their taxes without grumbling. The "Chamber of Commerce," revived in Tongatabu for the joint object of worrying the new Government and of helping the insolvent publican by holding their thirst-provoking meetings at his hostelry, had lately sent a delegate to their brothers of Vavau to invite their co-operation. The unwonted excitement of a public meeting and a real live political agitation was so new, that for the moment personal enmities were laid aside. There were even suggestions by some wild enthusiast that a

563 "Chamber of Commerce" should be founded in Vavau
441 itself; but though the more sober-minded renounced this proposal as impracticable, they eagerly assured the sister Chamber in Tongatabu that they might be counted upon for support in the righteous crusade against the Customs department. A deputation from the still-born Chamber of Commerce waited upon me the morning after my arrival. The fumes of the public meeting had had time to evaporate, and I found the deputation to be sensible fellows, whose views contrasted favourably with the intolerant resolution of the body which they represented. The good sense and moderation of the traders of Vavau is not to be measured by the ferocity of their language when convened in a public meeting,—a phenomenon not altogether unknown in other parts of the world.

Two of the traders, a Russian Jew and an Englishman, were accused by the police of carrying on an illicit trade
[273] in liquor. The law of Tonga forbids the sale of intoxicants to natives under a heavy penalty, and it speaks well for the good sense of the people themselves that the native Parliament has always confirmed this wise restriction. British subjects are, besides, liable to penalties before the
[689] Deputy-Commissioner's Court. Yet probably no offence is committed with greater impunity, owing to the difficulty of obtaining convictions when it is the interest of both seller and buyer to commit perjury.

000 I once tried a case in Fiji in which it appeared that the police had given an Indian coolie 6s. to buy whisky from a storekeeper, had watched him go empty-handed to the store and return with a bottle of the damning fluid in his hand, and had proved it by tasting to be nearly allied

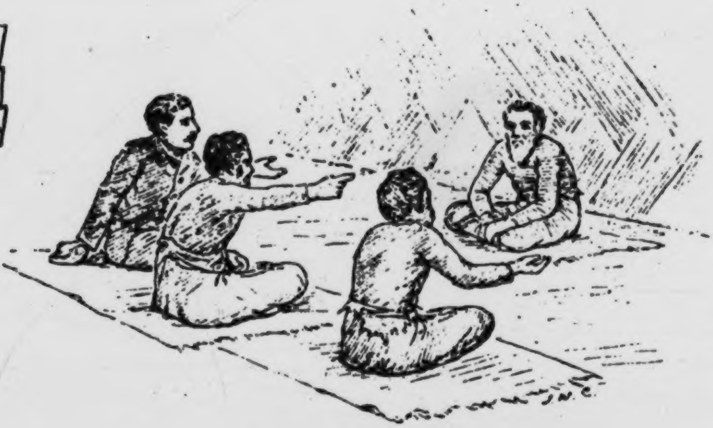
to "Cape smoke" and "Nail-rod." The trader was a 000
respectable and God-fearing man, and he appeared to his summons clad in decent broadcloth and patent-leather shoes without socks. He swore with awful solemnity that neither he nor any of his men had sold spirits to the Indian; he even produced a number of his assistants to corroborate his statement. The coolie swore that he had deliberately humbugged the policeman, and that he had picked the bottle up in the grass on the way from the store. He found another Indian to swear that he had put it there, and the trader got off. Two years later he retired with a fortune.

To return from this digression. My Russian was a man 563
of substance, and was reputed to be a man of his word; 441
my Englishman was an old offender, whose sense of honour 689
had possibly been blunted by the joint effect of the climate and his own stock-in-trade,—so the cases had to be treated differently. I sent for the Russian Jew, and got him to make a clean breast of his delinquencies. I showed him how the law had been enacted for the protection of the Europeans themselves, for, with his thirty years' experience of the Pacific, none knew better than he what sort of a community was a native mob in liquor. He grew penitent, and promised solemnly never to sell liquor to a native again, adding that if I doubted his word he would give me a bond for £1000. I declined this characteristic offer, saying that I did not doubt his word, and I believe that he justified my confidence. With the Englishman I made shorter work, simply telling him there was evidence to obtain a conviction, but that as the police had of late been so remiss as to cast a doubt upon the efficacy of the law, I

563 should make them hold their hand until he neglected my
441 warning, and offended again.

689 One of our first acts on landing had been to pay our
634 official visit to the Governor, who had disobeyed and
645 defied us. One always forms a clear mental picture of a
798 person whose acts and utterances are familiar, and the
picture is generally ill-drawn. I had imagined this truculent Free Churchman as a self-sufficient middle-aged
Tongan of the blatant kind: I found him a mild-mannered old gentleman, endowed with an apostolic saintliness of feature and expression that must have disarmed my colleagues had they not known their man so well.
[551] Manase was a chief of the third rank in Vavau, who owed
his elevation to his zeal in persecuting the Wesleyans and his willingness to second Mr Baker in questionable transactions. Hitherto I had supposed him to have some

[291]
[302]
[516]



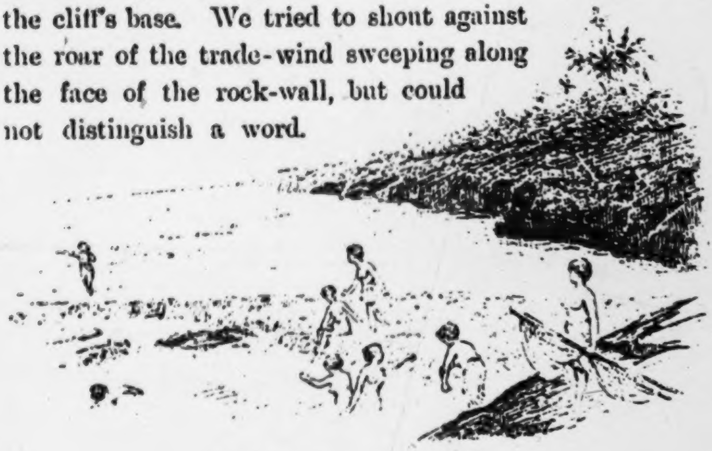
"*Manase took it all in silence.*"

strength of character, if only in refusing to swing to the 634
change of wind, but during this interview I realised that 645
his steady opposition to us was due solely to crass and 798
unimaginative stupidity. He was, in fact, quite incapable of realising that the old order had changed. We sat in a circle on the floor of his house and made conversation while the kava was brewed, and then, when the bowl had been removed, and we were so far alone that his household and their friends only formed a wall of ears on the other side of the reed-partition, Tukuaho and Fatafehi spoke their minds. Manase took it all in silence with furrowed brow and meek eyes, as who should say, "This too I forgive for the Gospel's sake!" As we left the house Tukuaho said that Manase would take his lesson to heart. I thought otherwise, and in this instance I was right.

Until the king's reign, as I have related elsewhere, the 565
nobles of Vavau have always held a somewhat independent 643
position. The Finau Ulukalala, the chiefs of the principal family, have, so long as history recalls them, been men of strong personal character and individuality. They seem to have acknowledged the Tui Kanakubolu as their suzerain from inclination rather than from necessity. To a 565
Finau of the eighteenth century we owe Captain Cook's hospitable reception in Tonga—a hospitality that would have resulted in his massacre at Maofanga instead of in Hawaii but for a fortunate accident. To another was due the great revolution of 1799, and all the stirring times that succeeded it. His strong individuality, so wonderfully painted by an eye-witness, called forth from a Quarterly Reviewer of the day a comparison between him and the heroes of Greek tragedy. Another, Tuabaji, after re-

Another, Tuabaji, after re-
565 sisting for years the teachings of the missionaries, brought
[797] about that dramatic conversion of the whole island to
Christianity that seemed to the missionaries so striking an
instance of divine interposition. The line was not extinct.
Though Manase was governor under the king, a Finau
Ulukalala lived in the person of an unwieldy man of
thirty, a *nobele* of the House of Lords, it is true, and the
king's aide-de-camp, but in all other respects ignored by
the Government. He was not a man of high moral elevation,
nor could the missionaries point to him as a cheering
instance of the efficacy of their work. He swore fluently
in both German and English, and had a cultivated taste
for strong waters. Finau was a ne'er-do-weel, but perhaps
a scapegrace of the kind that is not past reform if intrusted
565 with responsibility. There was no doubt about
554 his being the hereditary ruler of the place: one might
[634] see that from the manner of the old men as he rode
through the country. Surrounded by rowdy young boon-companions,
holding no post that gave him a vestige
of authority, he yet could not enter a village without
holding an informal *levée* of all the inhabitants, while
Manase the Governor might pass unnoticed. Possessed
of such inherent influence, he was certainly worthy of trial
as Manase's successor if the king could be induced to dismiss
so ardent a Free Churchman, and to appoint in his
place the descendant of the chiefs whom he had dispossessed.
Perhaps guessing my sentiments, Finau attached
133 himself to me throughout this visit. He offered to escort
me to the Liku, and as I could best enjoy the scenery of
this weird place alone, I was at some pains to give him
the slip. But though I rode fast Finau rode faster, and

caught me up at that strange white burying-ground, hung 133
between sky and sea at the precipice's edge. He led me along the cliff to the open plain, whence, looking backward, one may see the hundred isles of Haafulu Hao spread out like a map. Leaving our horses, we crept together along the razor-edge that still connected a rocky pinnacle with the cliff from which it jutted. Clinging to the roots of a starving screw-pine, we knelt and felt the shaft twang as the great seas boomed into the caverns at the cliff's base. We tried to shout against the roar of the trade-wind sweeping along the face of the rock-wall, but could not distinguish a word.

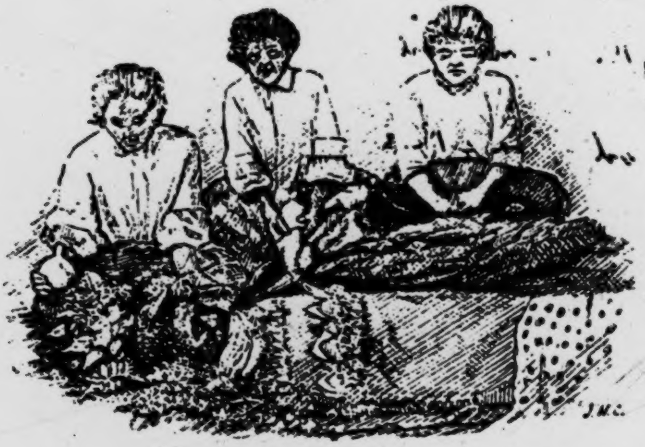


The Liku in Tongatabu.

This place has been a favourite point of departure 762
for the love-sick of Vavau who would escape their [584]
misery. Finau said that the body of a girl of Halaufuli, who leapt hence into eternity a few months before, never reached the water, but was sucked inwards by the cliff, and so dashed to pieces on the sharp rocks at its foot. Whether the attraction of the cliff would always do this or not, death would be certain in falling

762 from such a height, even if the body struck the water only.

And here let me digress on the subject of suicide. The rough average rate of suicide in the Pacific—the figures dealt with are too insignificant for unvarying accuracy—is about equal to the rate for the United Kingdom, viz., .006 per *mille* of the population; but since most of the suicides in Europe are committed under the influence of mania or extreme misery,—conditions that are generally absent in these favoured isles,—we may assume that the Pacific islanders have a predisposition towards self-destruction. The usual causes are lovers' quarrels, and the fear of being
762 neglected in incurable illness. In the latter case suicide
761 is a mere survival of the old custom that constrained a sick man to importune his relations to strangle or bury him alive,—itself an evolution from an earlier time when



Mourning.

the existence of a family depended upon its having no 762
disabled members to protect. The lovers' quarrels that [761]
result in suicide are quite as trivial as those of civilised
communities. On the sudden impulse of some slight
misunderstanding the distressed lover resorts to the
picturesque but inadequate method of climbing to the
top of a cocoa-nut-palm and jumping off, with the usual
result of a broken limb, a reconciliation with the beloved
object, and permanent lameness. Of late years the cocoa-
nut-tree has become less fashionable for men who are in
earnest. These generally prefer a precipice, or, if their
despair be of the more deliberate kind, poison, which, being
a mere infusion of bark or leaves, must be drunk in such
large quantity that it more often produces vomiting than
death. The ancient mode of execution in Tonga—putting [681]
the condemned adrift in leaky canoes—still occasionally
survives as a method of suicide. In February a schooner, 762
bound from Niuatobutabu to Nukualofa, picked up a 212
derelict canoe floating unharmed, with her paddles and
baler in her, and a crumpled letter which ran as
follows:—

162 78982
810 6126 74 m2 127216 m2 892 162 9812 74 m2 m274
b4 810 m2 892 16274 16m807850 892 270
1820 2m454 m8 232.

The schooner's crew connected their discovery with the disappearance of two girls from Niua a few days before; but, not knowing the cipher, they brought the letter to the capital and handed it to Kubu. Tukuaho at once declared it to be written in a cipher known to most of

762 212 the younger generation of Tongans, and called the *Kaneli Tofu* cipher. He made a table thus—

K A N E L I T O F U
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

and the letter then read—

162 78982
Kia Tofoa

810 6126 74 m2 127216 m2 892 162 9812 74 m2 m274
Oku ikai te ma kataki ma ofa kia Foka te ma mate

b4 810 m2 892 16274 16m807850 892 270
be oku ma ofa kiate kimoutolu ofa atu

1820 2m454 m8 232.
koau amele mo ana.

which being interpreted, ran—

TO TOFOA.

We two cannot endure our love for Foka; we would rather die. We send our love to you all. Farewell.

AMELE and ANA.

762 It was a suicide. The poor girls had stolen the canoe, and had paddled themselves out of sight of land, and then, having scribbled their letter to their friend in cipher, they folded it, wrote the address on the back, and jumped overboard. I never heard what part Foka had played in the tragedy.

Persons intending suicide have also learned a lesson from the method of executions in Europe. Strangling with a cord of *ngatu* was common among the Polynesians of the olden time, but they seem never to have thought of hanging, and the idea at once struck them

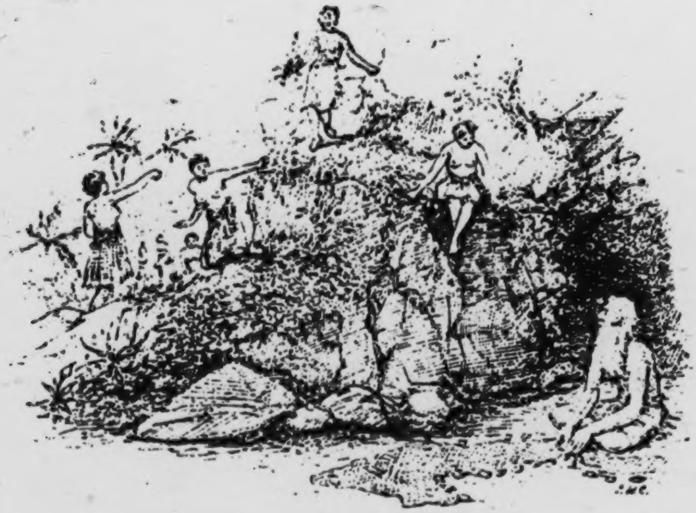
as picturesque. Moreover, a man cannot very well strangle 762
himself without help. A pretence of hanging is much resorted to by people who imagine themselves to be misunderstood, or who wish to frighten their friends into making some concession, because a dramatic effect can be produced with the least possible personal inconvenience.

Yet whenever confederates can be found to help, the [761]
South Sea Islander appears to prefer strangling to hanging. In Fiji a few years ago, when Australia was ringing 000
with the achievements of the Kelly gang of bushrangers, a trader in Vanualevu, with the aid of a Sydney newspaper, was entertaining a gaping circle of Fijians by trying to make their flesh creep. In the minds of two of his listeners, youths from the neighbouring village, the seed fell upon a rich soil. Why should they be condemned to this life of spiritless toil in subjection to their chiefs and the Government, compelled to drudge in the fields and the tax-plantations, while the free, glorious bush lay behind them? If these foreigners, who could not exist without tinned meats, could live in the bush, how much more they who only wanted a wild yam or kaile roasted on the embers of an open fire? They could rob all the foreigners' stores, and with the plunder tempt the girls of the village to come and join them, and they would eat tinned meats and turkeys and fowls every day without having to pay for them or work to make money. They discreetly opened their project to one of their friends, but when he understood the full daring of the scheme he modestly withdrew, in words that were translated by the magistrate who afterwards held the inquest as, "Pardon me, but this thing is beyond my capacity."

000So the three went out into the bush alone. During the first week they robbed two stores, and stabbed an elderly German in the back, escaping after each exploit into the impenetrable bush. They succeeded in establishing a real panic, so that none dared to leave the village alone; and the native police nightly thanked Providence that they had not stumbled across them. When the magistrate reached the place a week or two later with a force of police, he found that the outrages had ceased, and that nothing had been heard of the daring bushrangers for more than ten days. Weeks passed, and the confidence of the villagers was so far restored that they ventured armed into their gardens, believing that the bushrangers had gone to another part of the island. At last an old man, whose garden lay far afield, was drawn by the evidences of corruption to look into his yam-shed. Two bodies were there, decayed almost beyond recognition. One had a *masi* cord tied tightly round the neck, with both the ends free; the other had been strangled by a cord tied by one end to the upright post. Further search led to the discovery of a third body hanging by the neck from a tree. It was the poor trio, who had also found bushranging beyond their capacity. They got lonely, and longed for companionship to prop their failing courage; and when they could bear it no longer, and they had to choose between giving themselves up or suicide, they chose death by their own hands rather than by the unknown terrors of the law of the foreigners. So A and B put a noose round C's neck in the old style, and pulled at the ends till he was dead. Then B tied the end of his *malo* to the post, wound it round his neck,

and gave the end to A to pull. And when A was left 000
alone with none to help him, he climbed the nearest tree, tied his neck to a branch, and died like a foreigner. Their deaths were better planned than their lives.

To return to Vavau, from which I have strayed 571
many degrees of longitude. Our ride now lay through 175
the wild rocks, buried in flowering creepers that in 1810



“He was discovered by a party of girls.”

were the home of Tutawi the hermit. At the beginning of the disturbances that followed the revolution of 1799, this man, weary of the violence of men and the perfidy of women, left his home secretly to live a solitary life, communing with Nature and the spirits of the haunted Liku. The great war and the siege of Feletoa had raged within a few miles of his hiding-place unheeded by him.

571/175 Years after his relations had eaten his funeral feast, in the belief that he had perished in one of the numerous night attacks of that perilous time, he was accidentally discovered by a party of girls who had wandered hither in search of scented flowers for garlands, and here the great Finau sought an interview with him and tempted him with the promise of land, slaves, and wives if he would return to the life he had left. But he refused them all, and died as he had lived, alone and unheeded of the few who remembered his existence.

At length we stood upon the precipice of the Ana 133 [681] Matangi, or "Cave of the winds." Through a cleft in the rock a narrow path led to a ledge whence the adventurous might climb to the cave's mouth; but the Government had taken alarm at the fatal accidents that had occurred here, and had made it a penal offence to make the attempt. The cave's mouth is the top of a vast subterranean funnel whose base is below the sea-level, so that when the tide is rising the air within is compressed with immense force and rushes out of the hole with a deep vibrating hum, and at ebb-tide is sucked in with a whistling hiss audible many yards away. Four times a-day, for a few minutes when the tide is turning, this cave of the winds is at rest, and at these moments it is safe to enter; but at half-tide any one crossing the mouth is either blown off the ledge or sucked in, unless he have a firm foothold and a clear head.

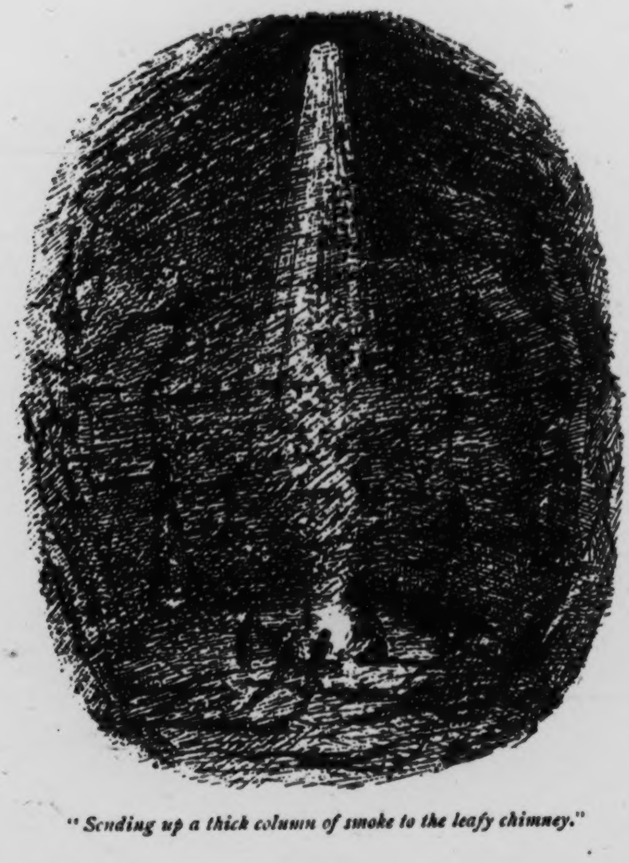
This was not the only expedition in which Finau shepherded me. Like every tourist who stopped at Vavau before me, I paid a visit to the Hunga submarine cave twice famed by Mariner and Byron. It lies some miles

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

to the seaward of Neiafu up the harbour, and when we reached it a heavy swell was rolling in towards the cliff. I was well prepared for the dive into the mouth by my experiences of the Yasawa-i-lau cave in Fiji, but my followers were obdurate, declaring that no one would attempt the Hunga in a westerly swell unless he was resolved on self-destruction. They cited the case of the captain of a ship of war, who was driven upwards by an incoming wave as he was in mid-passage, and who escaped indeed with life, but with his spine so lacerated by the sharp stalactites that he was permanently crippled. While we were still debating the question a smart sailing-boat bore down on us with a stout figure at the tiller, whom I recognised as Finau. He hailed us to say that he had come to pilot us to the other show-cave of the place, and (parenthetically, of course) to point out the boundaries of some land of which it was proposed illegally to deprive him. The cave just allowed our boats to run in with masts standing. Inside it heightened and broadened to a width of 60 or 70 feet. The limestone walls were disfigured with the names of Europeans and Tongans, and the dates of their offence; for, with the art of writing, has come the Cockney instinct to deface Nature with a record of existences to which she and all her creatures are supremely indifferent. 133 [212]

The stock entertainment of the place was a shaft of rock which, when struck with the handle of an oar, gave out a deep musical note. But Finau had something more serious in view than this puerile amusement. Leaving our boats, we clambered over the rocks through a dark passage and emerged into another cave, in size and shape

133 like the interior of a large lime-kiln, even to the hole in the conical roof. Acting under Finau's orders, one of our men now swam back to the entrance of the cave, and a few minutes later a shout from the dome warned us to "stand from under." Through the chimney-hole invisible hands showered down great billets of firewood. Matches



"Sending up a thick column of smoke to the leafy chimney."

were produced, and in a few moments a large fire was 133
heating the stones in the middle of the cave's floor, and sending up a thick column of smoke to the leafy chimney in the roof. When the stones were red-hot and the oven was ready for its lining, the same invisible hand, in obedience to Finau's shout, poured through the hole a shower of green branches and banana-leaves, that fluttered down like the ruins of Klingsor's garden. The chickens and [252]
yams were soon baking in the steam of the leaves, buried under a foot of soil. Picnics such as this are to the [517]
idle young Tongan one of the highest forms of earthly happiness.

Fonos and addresses to the Civil servants had done 651
something towards allaying suspicion and discontent in Vavau, in spite of the strenuous efforts of Mr Baker's son and the other Europeans to foster hostility to the Government. The result of the Governor's misconduct in accepting coin in payment of taxes had been to pour into the empty local treasury between £2000 and £3000 in silver. Seeing that the cow-faced sub-treasurer, in addition to his other delinquencies, reported that £6 had miraculously vanished from a saucer in which he guarded the public funds, though the fastenings of the treasury were intact, it was plainly time to remove the whole sum to a place where it could be employed in liquidating the debts of the country rather than those of the local officials. There was a strange display of emotion among the treasury 651
clerks when I announced my intention. The Customs 634
officer, an Englishman, enlightened me. The nobles of Vavau were Home Rulers to a man, at least in so far as their money was concerned. They held that every dollar-

651 piece paid into their treasury should be spent in their
634 island—the very self-same coins, not changelings from
Tongatabu. Therefore, though the law enjoined them, on
receipt of instructions from the Minister of Finance, to
remit their money to Nukualofa, even in the zenith of
Mr Baker's power they habitually disregarded such orders,
until the Premier himself, accompanied by a Cabinet
Minister or two, had to come and remove the money
under escort, amid the outspoken murmurs of the whole
island. As soon as the clerks had spread the news of
my intention, all sorts of obstacles sprang into existence.
There were no bags to put the money in! It could not
be counted in time! It was safer in Vavau than in
Nukualofa! The king did not wish the money to go!
643 The king's sanction was not in the least necessary; but
651 as I always preferred to take the least thorny path to my
634 object, I called upon his Majesty to ask his permission, as
798 well as to obtain the royal pardon for Tevita Finau, one
of the religious exiles who still lay under sentence of
687 penal servitude for church offences. I found the king in
the back verandah of the tumble-down Palace, apparently
alone; but a glance at the rickety kitchen, that stood
within earshot, told me that the building was packed with
the gossips of Vavau assembled to take notes of our
interview.

"Is not this a time for forgiveness?" the king said, in
reply to my formal request for a pardon for Finau. "Sign
the papers in my name." To my second demand he said,
"Let them talk. Take the money. Is not Vavau the land
of foolish talking?"

645 But I wanted more than this. Manase had to learn a

lesson, and I asked for a Privy Council for the ostensible 643
purpose of passing a short Ordinance of routine. To 651
make the necessary quorum, I suggested that Inoke Fotu, 634
the judge, Kubu's father, should be sworn in as an extra- 645
ordinary member. Though a professed adherent of our
party, he had shown signs of independence under the
suspension of his relative and *protégé*, the cow-faced sub-
treasurer, and I thought that the appointment, besides
flattering him, would force him to declare against his old
adversary Manase. The king was in an executive mood.
"*Haú ha taha!*" (Let some one come!) he cried. 644

From among the trees in the distance a burly Tongan burst at a quick run. Gathering speed as he approached, when at ten yards from the king he leaped suddenly into the air and landed in a sitting posture right at the king's feet, with head bowed and body rigid in the attitude of respect. It was the most physically painful act of reverence I had ever witnessed.

"Tell Inoke and Manase to come at once."

The man sprang to his feet and dashed off into the
trees at his topmost speed. In a few moments the two 643
chiefs arrived, evidently perturbed at the urgency of the 651
summons. We moved into the dining-room, and held our 634
Council there and then. Manase's feeble protest against 645
the first resolution, that the funds in the treasury should
be remitted to Nukualofa according to law, was unheeded
by the king, but it sufficed to rouse old Inoke, and the
resolution was of course carried.

Armed with so formidable a mandate as an Order of 651
the king in Council, I summoned all the treasury officials 643
to count the cash, and ordered canvas bags to be made at

651 the nearest store. There is no dirtier or more wearisome task than that of counting £2000 or £3000 in silver, especially in a country where coins are grimy with handling, and one is distracted with the necessity of watching that the subordinates do not levy a toll upon their task. The bags were scarcely sealed when the steamer came in. An escort of sulky police was requisitioned; and I superintended an unwilling train of money-carriers down the hill to the wharf, and heard the muttered reproaches of the bystanders, who believed themselves to be again defrauded of their hard-earned treasure by their rivals of the capital.

XII.

MISSIONARIES.

In our efforts to induce the people to pay their taxes, 794
our principal competitors were not the traders, but the 797
Churches. There was but one money-harvest in the year, 651
and the directors of the several bodies that preyed upon the Tongans—the Government, the two Wesleyan missions, and in a lesser degree the Roman Catholics—set themselves to reap the golden crop simultaneously as soon as the sun had dried the copra. I must admit that the Wesleyans, in their anxiety to prove their loyalty, did not hold their missionary collections until the majority of their people had paid their taxes. The other missions were less considerate, and took largely of the things that were Cæsar's. The *fakamisonali* is so characteristic an entertainment that I must attempt to describe one.

For some days previously six or seven chosen vessels 794
had been canvassing their friends on behalf of the plates for which they were to be responsible on the great day. There was a keen rivalry between them, and to the importunities of one of them I fell a victim, defending

794 myself from the others by sheltering behind the promise
I had given him not to contribute to any plate but
his. Their method was ingenious. The tout took care to
approach his victim in the evening when the house was
full of people. He would remark that Pita (a neighbour)
had promised two dollars this year, and would hint that
he scarcely supposes the victim will allow himself to be
outdone by such a one as Pita! The unfortunate man,
constrained by false shame, promises more than he can
afford; the amount is noted in a book, and has to be
found by importunity or petty larceny.

As the day drew nearer we were set upon by numbers
794 of the faithful, including our convict groom, who came to
123 borrow money to give to the Church. For these I had
but one form of argument — forcible if not altogether
reverent. They were, I said, proposing to give my
money to the Church — not their own; and as it was
extremely unlikely that they would ever pay me back,
and therefore either I or the Church would have to go
without the money, I thought the Church was better able
794 to afford the loss. Cynics among the traders even went
the length of declaring that the *fakamisonali* is always
accompanied by the disappearance of their ducks and
fowls, which may generally be found in the yard of a
rival trader living at a distance, who has innocently
bought them from a native bent upon contributing his
mite to the Church. This is no doubt a slander.

796 On the appointed day the whole population donned
[292] their gala trousers and petticoats, and streamed to the
church, whose big bell was being tolled by relays of
urchins. The pews were crowded: there was not even

standing-room round the walls. At the pulpit end was 796 a semicircle of seats for the European aristocracy, including, [563] of course, Mr M——, the contractor for the Government copra, who aspired to be thought the deliverer of oppressed Tongans, and could not therefore allow such an opportunity for advertisement to pass.

How shall I describe the scene that followed? How 796 shall I portray the unction of the presiding missionary, 794 as he poured forth his prayers for a full plate in a voice [797] shaken with emotion, the roar of "*Malo!*" as each sentiment found expression, the rich smiles of the owners of the filling basins, and the mortified anxiety of the owners of the still empty ones? How tell of the magnificent, if somewhat ostentatious, liberality of the portly Mr M——, as his interpreter, the local butcher, announced, amid deafening cheers, that he was about to give £20 to the Lord out of his deep compassion for the suffering and oppressed? If the *bolotu* was a pious orgy, the *faka-misonali* was a religious debauch. In front of the pulpit stood a table on which lay a common wash-hand basin and an account-book, guarded each by a native teacher. The patrons of the basins sat in a stiff row behind.

After the preliminary religious exercises the missionary announced the name of the patron of the "plate" first to be filled. It might be the name of the person in charge of it, or that of some dead or absent one to whose memory it was dedicated. In one case a young blood of Vavau called his plate after a favourite dog, deceased some months before; but the presiding missionary had to draw the line somewhere, and he elected to draw it at dead dogs, because he feared that it might import a spirit of levity into the

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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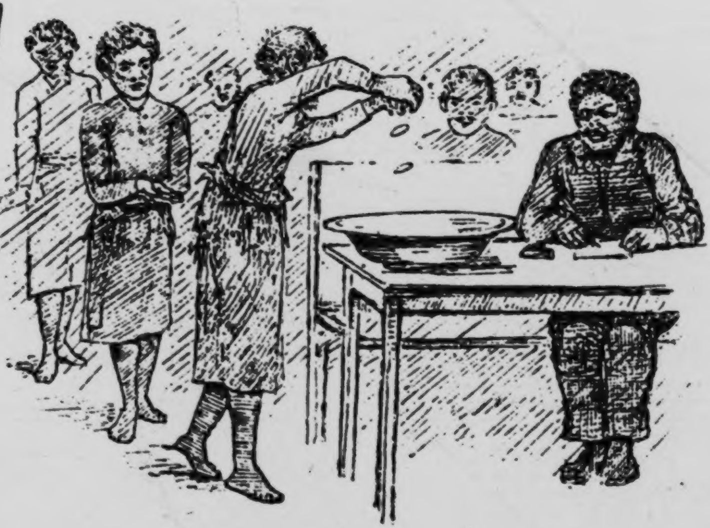
796 proceedings. As the name of each patron was called she
794 rose in a stately manner and cast her contribution into the basin as a nest-egg. And now those who had promised contributions to the "plate" just announced, swaggered up the aisle and flung their coins into the basin. It was amusing to note the difference of gesture. Here a man would march up with an air of deep disdain and toss his

[292]



"*Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth.*"

coins into the basin one by one. Another would approach with proud humility and dash down a handful of threepenny pieces with a crash, retiring as he had come amid the shouts of well-merited applause for the dramatic contrast between his bearing and his bounty. In earlier days, before the glare of publicity had checked the spontaneity of the *fakamisonali*, the real sensation, as in all well-

arranged spectacles, was kept until the end. A band of 796
men and women would come up together and walk round 794
and round the basin, each throwing in a threepenny piece as he passed. After a few rounds a man whose stock of coins was exhausted would fall out, and the procession continued without him. Then only two were left to circle round each other in a sort of dance, amid deafening applause. At last one of the survivors gave out, and the victor was left alone to stand before the basin and chuck in his coins from a distance. He was the hero of the day.

Behind the pulpit were the tables of the money-changer, 796
who, so far from being driven out of this temple, was con- 794
sidered necessary to its very existence, being, in fact, the 797
missionary himself. The mode of collection demanded a larger stock of small coins than was obtainable at the local stores, and as every contributor was encouraged to enlighten his right hand as to the doings of his left, the smaller coins are made to do double duty. When the congregation would no longer respond to the taunts or the entreaties of the basin-man, the contents of the basin were counted and dumped upon the money-changer's table, thus supplying him with change to satisfy the requirements of the contributors whose turns were yet to come.

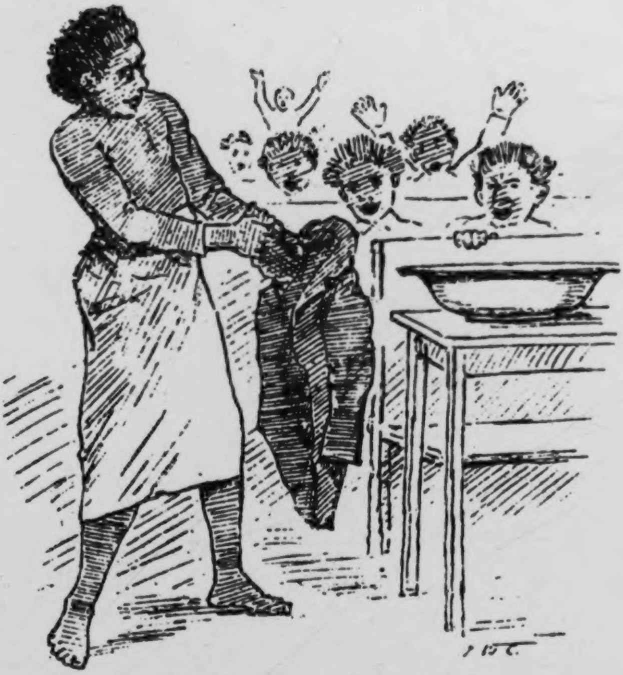
In the palmy days of the Wesleyan mission, when Mr Baker was still the trusted shepherd of an undivided flock, the mission treasury was filled by a system for the ingenuity of which I believe he deserves the entire credit.
In the hysterical enthusiasm so cleverly fostered by the [452]
missionaries, the natives were quite ready to mortgage their crops for the brief glory of surpassing their neigh-

796 hours; but it was thought that if the missionaries them-
794 selves advanced the money and afterwards sued their
797 debtors in the courts when the excitement of the collection
452 had had time to cool down, adverse criticism, and perhaps
even the resentment of the faithful, might be aroused. So Mr Baker entered into an unholy alliance with Messrs Ruge & Co., a German firm newly arrived in the group. The agents of the firm were to advance cash to any native who wanted it for the church collections on promissory notes, to be repaid in copra when the crop was ripe; and as the firm had not sufficient coin to satisfy all comers, the mission was to hand back the coin to the agents as fast as it was collected, taking bills on Sydney in exchange. Thus the firm secured a lien on all the future crop, to the exclusion of its rivals, the mission trebled its collections, and when the bills became due, it was the German firm who incurred the obloquy of haling the over-generous debtor before the court, and of selling up his live stock and furniture. The complacency of the courts might be counted on, for the chairman of the mission was also the unofficial adviser of the Government. Strange stories of the *fakamisonali* of those days were told to the Commission of Enquiry sent to investigate Mr Baker's proceedings —how, when the trading agent at the church door dared not advance any more cash, the disappointed native would rush back to the basin, stripping off his coat as he ran, and fling it in to win one more yell of applause from his excited fellow-worshippers.

796 These more picturesque incidents have now given place
794 to sober business. When the basins had drained the
congregation of all their cash, the contents were quickly

counted and the amount whispered to the presiding 794
teacher. In crying aloud the contents of each basin he 796
allowed pauses for the cheering, and artistically kept the
largest until the last. Mr M——, the deliverer of the
oppressed, showed a fine eye for effect. He cared noth- [563]

[292]



" *To win one more yell of applause.*"

ing for the cheap and ephemeral burst of admiration that might have been won by flinging his twenty sovereigns into the same basin at once, but sat proudly erect while his almoner, the butcher, distributed his munificence equally between all the six basins, thereby winning to

794 his interests the hearts of all the patrons and their
796 friends. After the benediction had been pronounced,
[563] the congregation walked thoughtfully home to cool down
and face the future.

It is easy to sneer at the missionaries in the South
797 Pacific as drones sucking the honey that others have
stored; as ministers of the collection-plate rather than
of the Gospel; as moral teachers whose grim code is
797 responsible for the deterioration of native morality. The
177 books written about the Pacific Islands have been the
[114] work of either missionaries or passing travellers, and
hostile criticism by the latter has been in obedience to the natural law of reaction after the sometimes nauseous series of self-laudatory books given to the world by the missionaries themselves. Casual travellers, who hoped to see the natives in their primitive simplicity of manners, are disappointed to find them clad and in their right minds, and galled at the restrictions, apparently arbitrary and unreasonable, laid upon them by their spiritual guides. They have read much of the hardships of the missionary's life. They find him sleek and prosperous, the autocrat of his flock, living in a good house, travelling in a comfortable and well-found boat: they feel that an attempt has been made to obtain their sympathies under false pretences, and they write down mission enterprise a fraud, and the system a mere institution for raising
[563] money from the gullible native. In this extreme view
[441] they are supported by the Europeans of the place,—for
traders do not love missionaries, regarding them as competitors who, besides crippling trade, interfere with their domestic arrangements.

797

They are wrong, of course. It may be true that, with a few brilliant exceptions, the missionaries are men of but slight education and extreme narrowness of views, and that the time for hardship and danger has passed away; but one need only compare the past with the present to acknowledge how great is the work they have accomplished. The early missionaries went with their lives in their hands, having nothing to gain from their enterprise but the inward reward of self-sacrifice. As for the women who followed their husbands to suffer with them the privations they were less able to endure, forced to bear and rear children in unhealthy climates, shocked almost daily by scenes that disgust us even to read about, and relieved at last only to return to their fellows with shattered health, —no praise can be too great for them. If the first missionaries were ignorant and narrow-minded, so also, according to modern lights, have the apostles seemed, but no less in their case than in that of their great prototypes was their very narrowness of vision a means of success. Natives, like children, do not understand half-measures. If their gods were false gods, then was every custom connected with their worship, whether mutilations of the body, or ornaments, or dances, or ceremonies, fit only for the most rigid prohibition. To gain an ascendancy over them, something more was wanted than the mere ingrafting of a new belief upon their lives. Their own creeds were hedged about with *tabus*, each enforced by the fear of death, and a religion without such prohibitions could not long hold their respect. So, from no calculating wisdom, they took unconsciously the wisest course and made their new code as uncompromising as that they were displacing.

But now that the missionaries are only called upon to 797 carry on the work founded by their predecessors, and know nothing of the danger their predecessors had to encounter, it is not astonishing that, among men recruited from a lower stratum of society and education, there should be some whose behaviour has detracted from the credit of the Missionary Society, and that these have been taken by hostile critics as types of the body of which they are members. The two main charges brought against the missionaries of to-day are that they give a first place to the collection of money, and that they have introduced and kept alive among the natives the unedifying spectacle of warring Churches. To the first charge it may be answered that no Church ever was or ever will be carried on without funds, and it is surely to the credit of a mission that they should have induced the people whom they benefit to support their Church and schools instead of leaving them to make appeals to philanthropists for funds to carry on their work. For the missions are not concerned only with the spiritual needs of the natives—they also do the great practical work of maintaining day-schools in every village. The missionaries themselves

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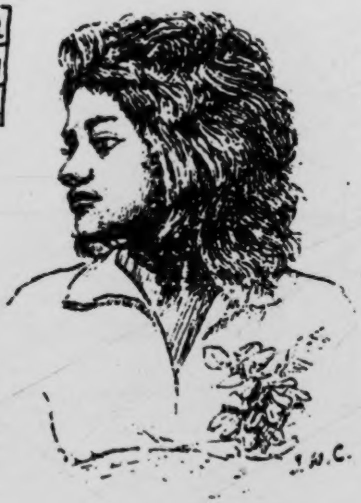

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794

A Tongan schoolgirl.

would not deny that there have been grave abuses in 797
the means adopted for obtaining subscriptions; but these 794
abuses have not been general, and they have been due to the fact that among the missionaries, as among every considerable body of men, there have been a few who were unworthy of the cause in which they were employed. The second charge is unfortunately true.

I shall not speak of the Church of England Mission 797
working in Melanesia, of the Presbyterian Mission of the New Hebrides, nor of the London Mission of Raratonga, Samoa, and New Guinea, for none of those Societies are concerned with Tonga; but I shall confine myself to a review of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission of Australasia and the Roman Catholic Mission of the Société de Marie.

The Wesleyans sent their first missionary to Tonga in June 1822, and after three years' interruption they began work in earnest in 1826. There were two years of doubt and difficulty, three of slow but certain advance, and then they found themselves successful beyond their wildest hopes. With the conversion of King Josiah Aleamotu and of Taufaahau their cause was assured. The people followed their hereditary chiefs, and the heathen party became an ever-dwindling minority. Haapai and Vavau were Christian to a man: two-thirds of Tongatabu had embraced the new religion. Yet in the year 1835 we find this minority so hostile to Christianity that they are prepared to fight rather than accept it. In 1837 they are actually embarked in the hopeless struggle against an overwhelming majority. In 1840 they have driven back their assailants, even when supported by an English ship-of-war, and the hated missionaries are in flight. Yet there

797 was no advance on their side, no plundering nor laying waste after the manner of the cruel savages the missionaries represent them to be. With the discomfiture of their aggressors they seem to ask only for peace.

The story of these events, as told by the missionary historians, lacks cohesion. The finger of Providence, it is true, is pointed in every page. We are invited to shudder at the dark-mindedness of the heathen who reject the proffered salvation; to thrill at the virtue of the Christian troops fighting in a holy crusade; to feel a glow of triumph as we read of the fall of each heathen town; to pity the peace-loving missionaries forced into war's alarms, but enduring all things for compassion of their erring flock; and yet, when we have read it all, there is a sense of something kept back. Missionary records are unfortunately never remarkable for lucidity. They were not penned for the eye of an unsympathetic public, nor should we expect them to be impartial histories of public events. They were written with a purpose, by men who viewed all things by the light of their appointed task; who classed all events, all native customs and ceremonies, as helping or retarding "the work"; who revelled in iconoclasm, destroying recklessly with that narrowness of vision which is the characteristic of all human evangelists; who saw divine interposition in the most trivial occurrences of their lives. To advance their cause money was necessary, and to win money from a cold and indifferent public, compassion for their hardships and sympathy with their self-sacrifice had to be aroused. It is an ungrateful and even a dangerous task to read between the lines of these records; yet, since they are our only

published sources of information, I may be acquitted of 797
a wish to detract from a really great work if I submit
them to the tests from which even sacred history is no
longer exempt.

The principal facts, as related by the missionaries, are
these. With the conversion of the higher chiefs Chris-
tianity spread with a rapidity that proved the direct
interposition of Providence. Five years later there re- 797
mained but a minority inspired by the evil one to resist 798
the truth. Not content to remain heathen, they took up arms in the cause of Antichrist, and even made their religious differences an excuse to rebel against the civil authority of their king. Two reasons are assigned for their hostility: they "set themselves to the task of uprooting Christianity," and "they were an army of rebels, fighting against their earthly and their heavenly sovereign." A more grievous thing followed: they received into their midst the "emissaries of Rome," and their last state was worse than the first. The mission party fought, we are repeatedly assured, not as Christians against heathen, but as soldiers of the State against rebels; and the missionaries visited the besiegers morning and evening to give them the consolations of religion, while the French "Jack priests," as the Rev. Mr Yonge is pleased to call his fellow-workers, stayed within the walls of the fort, and encouraged the heathen in their seditious resistance to lawful authority.

Several questions occur to the reader of this narrative. If the war was really a mere civil disturbance, it is strange that the line of cleavage between loyalists and rebels should have been the same as that which separated the

797 Christians from the heathen. If the heathen were the
798 aggressors, why do we always find them in the position of besieged rather than of besiegers? If, on the other hand, they were simply fighting for liberty to dissent from the majority, they can scarcely have been the aggressors; and indeed for persons fighting "for the express purpose of destroying their king, whom they hated on account of his religion, and of slaughtering all his Christian subjects," they showed a singular neglect of their own interests, for they allowed King Aleamotu to return to his friends after he had voluntarily placed himself within their power. With questions such as these to solve, the reader feels that if he accepts the statement that the civil war in Tonga was the work of the "great enemy of God and man," he must also admit that, with diabolical cunning, the devil chose the pious missionaries as his instruments for producing strife.

If the missionaries succeeded in blinding themselves regarding the origin of these wars, they did not deceive
[115] the natives. In October 1893 it was my good fortune to find Akesa, the daughter of Lavaka, chief of Bea, still living in Fiji as a pensioner-servant of a mission family, —bright-eyed and intelligent for all her seventy years. From her relationship to the chief of the heathen party, she had been selected by King George to carry messages to and from the enemy, and had been present both at the death of Captain Croker and the fall of Bea. She began her narrative with the words, "You must know that there were three wars to make the heathen turn to Christianity."

Besides the missionaries there was but one writer who was an eye-witness of the disturbances of 1840. Com-

modore Wilkes of the United States navy, after vainly 797
endeavouring to mediate between the two belligerent 798
parties, did not hesitate to lay some of the blame of the war at the door of the missionaries, thereby calling down upon himself a torrent of vituperation from their apologists. He hints that they had it within their power to avert the bloodshed by consenting to allow the heathen freedom of choice, but that they would listen to no terms but the enforced conversion of the enemy to Christianity. Whether they were or were not to blame, the war of 1840 did not leave them scatheless. When H.M.S. Favourite left the island after the disaster at Bea, we are told that the surviving officers "took with them the two missionaries, Messrs Tucker and Rabone, with their families." Commodore Wilkes is more explicit. He says that the Christian party, the aggressors, were put to flight, and that the missionaries hastened away from the storm they had provoked and were powerless to allay.

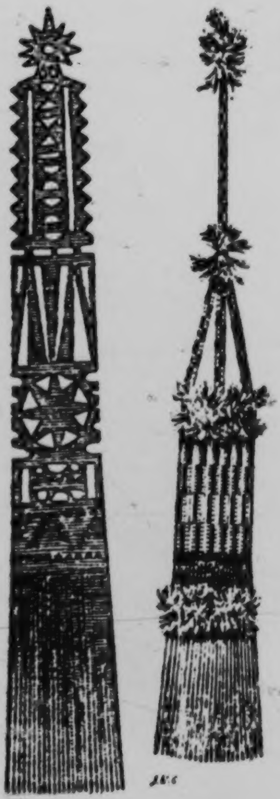
The missionaries have accused Wilkes of a bias against 797
them, and of "a strange prejudice in favour of man in his savage state": it is therefore fair to compare the statement of an observer who was confessedly an admirer of the great results they had accomplished. Commodore Erskine, who visited the group in 1853, writes:—

> I am indeed bound in justice to remark that in respect of their treatment of the people here [in Haapai] and in Vavau, the gentlemen of this mission do not compare favourably with those of the London Society in the Samoan islands. A more dictatorial spirit towards the chiefs and people seemed to show itself; and one of the missionaries in my presence sharply reproved Vuke, a man of high rank in his own country, for

797 presuming to speak to him in a standing posture,—a breach of discipline for which, if reprehensible, I was probable answerable, having encouraged the chief on all occasions to put himself on an equal footing with myself and the other officers. The missionaries seemed also to live much more apart from the natives than in Samoa, where free access is allowed to them at all times. Here, on the contrary, the gates of the enclosures were not merely kept closed, but sometimes locked,—a precaution against intrusion which, although perhaps warranted in some degree by the custom of fencing their grounds, and by the greater propensity on the part of these people to theft, I never saw adopted elsewhere, and which must operate unfavourably to that freedom of intercourse so necessary to the establishment of perfect confidence between the pastors and their flock.

If the missionaries were overbearing to the chiefs even
at that early date, a light is thrown upon the curious
persistence with which some of them clung to paganism.
[777] The ancient beliefs of the Polynesians never formed a
system of religion, and, to compare small things with
great, as the way was already smoothed for Christianity
by the growing scepticism of the Roman empire, so were
the minds of the Tongan chiefs ripe to seize upon any
religious creed with a more logical foundation than the
793 worn-out mummeries of their own ancestor-worship. Per-
771 haps the ancient priestcraft, with its exactions of votive
offerings and its hysterical oracles, would have shared the
fate of its forgotten predecessor, phallus-worship, had the
793 priests been less politic and tactful. But they knew that
565 the existence of their order depended upon the union of
[787] Church and State; and their oracular utterances, plastic
as those of Delphi, were directed always to upholding the
privileges of the chiefs. Between the two orders there

was a thorough understanding. The chief saw that the 793
regular offerings to the spirits were not stinted; the 565
priest, possessed by his god, retained sufficient self-command [787]
to gasp prophecies in remarkable accordance with the [531]
chief's interest. That they, like [302]
the Augurs, could meet without
grinning, was doubtless due to
the grim reality of the risk that
often attached to the sacerdotal
office; for was not the priest of
Tubou Totai already doomed to
be strangled for failing to restore
Finau's daughter, when sudden
death overtook his patron?
Even seventeen years before the [771]
arrival of the first missionaries,
the chiefs did not care to conceal
their scepticism; and perhaps,
if the tragic death of Finau
had not seemed so signal a revenge
of the outraged gods, the
missionaries would have found
that the ancient faith had
crumbled away of itself before
their arrival.



Combs.

The influence of the priests 793
had been so slight that, even with the fear of seeing
their occupation gone, they could oppose no obstacle to
the new creed. They are scarcely mentioned even by 797
missionaries. The opposition came from the chiefs them- 565

797 selves, inspired thereto, not as the good missionaries tell
565 us, by the "great enemy of God and man," but by
what has since proved to be a well-grounded alarm for
the safety of their order. Some of them were shrewd
enough to see in the new creed a political system that
struck directly at their privileges. In Tonga, as in
Galilee and in Rome, the first Christian convert was a
[779] commoner. The chiefs, who held that their inferiors
possessed no souls, learned with dismay that in the sight
of the missionaries all men, not ministers of the Gospel,
are equal; that one law was to bind the chief and his serf
alike—that the proudest aristocracy in the world were to
be abased to the level of the meanest plebeian. Their real
stumbling-block was the socialism of Christianity; for
the Tongan chiefs having, like Nicodemus, great possessions,
were not masters of the higher Biblical criticism
that has adapted the creed to the social inequalities that
clash with its teachings. To them the new system seemed
to strike directly at the privileges of their order. Their
power rested upon superstition, hardened and cemented
by long custom, and to admit mere foreigners to superior
authority was to lower them in the eyes of their subjects.
They did not resist the new teachers, they simply
claimed the liberty to dissent from the majority,—a
liberty which of all others men are least willing to grant
to one another.

797 Missionaries are by the nature of their calling intolerant. Tolerance in an evangelist is a sign that he is unfit for his mission. If Messrs Rabone and Tucker had been the men to discourage their new converts from coercing the heathen, they would not have achieved their

remarkable success. Expecting hardships, disappointments, and possibly martyrdom, they suddenly found themselves the most powerful persons in the country. Whatever measure of influence the chiefs possessed, that they were able to exert for the furtherance of their cause; and, as the unrealised possibilities of their position were borne in upon them, they gave God the praise, and began to make their power felt on their own account. The chiefs whose favour they had courted were now to discover that these foreigners, who had so meekly sought their protection, were, as the vicars on earth of a great and terrible *Otua*, to assume their rightful position of superiority. Henceforth the chiefs must pay to them the deference they had themselves received from their inferiors. Small wonder that, to those who still hesitated, this new portent of the secular power of the priesthood, never admitted under their heathen system, became so insurmountable a difficulty that they chose rather to cleave to their heathen gods and their independence.

It is easy to blame the missionaries after the event, to point to the lessons of history by which they might have been guided, and to forget that if they had been of that cool and calculating temper that is capable of founding a policy upon the teachings of history, they would never have come to Tonga. These men were not members of an Order trained to obey the direction of a central authority; they were homely men of slight attainments, burning with a zeal that drove out all considerations of policy and caution.

XIII.

ODIUM THEOLOGICUM.

It has been the fate of all Churches to be tempted with 000
the apple of temporal power; to lack the moderation to thrust it aside; and to fall by tasting of it. The errors that once ruined the Church of Rome—that may yet destroy her successor in England—may be watched in miniature in the South Pacific. There is something in the education of ecclesiastics, no less than in that of soldiers, that unfits them to wield the civil power. The messengers of peace and of war are prone alike to strain the authority committed to them, perhaps because they believe that the world has the same instinct of obedience as a regiment or a congregation. As in the fifteenth century the Popes, 797
the successors of Peter the fisherman, exacted the obeisance of sovereigns, so (to strain a comparison) the followers of Him who took the world for His parish claimed from the chiefs of Tonga the same marks of respect as were paid to them by their own vassals. They mistook the [781]
enthusiasm of a hysterical people for a permanent warmth of devotion to the new faith, forgetting that the very suddenness of their conversion marked them with the brand

of Athens,—a people ever running after some new thing. 797
While they were complacently receiving the homage of [781]
their flock, when they reproved the chief Vuke for presuming to stand in their presence; when they humbled the chiefs and exalted the commoners; when they taught their flocks the rudiments of a representative government; when they allowed the natives to see their thirst for money,—they were infecting their cause with the disease of which it is now dying: while they wrangled with the priests of the rival Church, and taught the natives that to worship their crucified God with a visible crucifix was a degree lower than the heathenism they had cast away, they drilled with their own hands the holes by which their ship has foundered. There are many who blame Mr Baker only for the deplorable state of things that has made the Wesleyan Church in Tonga a byword throughout the southern hemisphere. Baker was not alone to blame. He must share the responsibility with the founders of the mission who begat the traditions of temporalities exacted by the ministry, of intolerance of rival creeds, and of the *auri fames* which their successors have inherited.

It is difficult to say which mission is most to blame for 797
the unseemly antagonism which they displayed towards 798
each other. The Wesleyans have reproached the Roman Catholic priests with having joined and assisted the king's enemies in a rebellion against his authority, and so justify themselves for reviling them to the half-converted natives. The reproach seems to me to be in a great measure undeserved. The French priests found that the Protestant missionaries had failed to convert a large body of the natives,—that they had even sanctioned an attack upon

797 them by the forces of the Protestant chiefs. What more
798 natural than that they should take their message to the heathen who had refused Protestantism than to natives who had already accepted it? What more natural than that they should retaliate with the same weapons for the slanders heaped upon them? Is there a sadder picture in mission history than this, of men charged with the message of peace and love, choosing this distant field to fight out their old quarrel, forcing their half-savage converts to take sides with them, proclaiming aloud their divine message of peace and goodwill, and whispering gross slanders of one another into the wondering ears of those whom they were sent to teach? Had they made the civilised world the umpire of their quarrel, we might have deplored the evil chance without blaming the combatants, but since they chose to submit their theological disputes to the judgment of half-tamed savages, no censure can be too severe for them. It is no compensation that they are punished for it, that in slandering one another they have damaged the cause of both for all time. Savages are logical: it is because they are too logical that we class their intelligence as inferior to our own. These men came to teach them peace, and bade them love one another, and with the same breath they declared that the other foreigners who were preaching the same doctrine were liars and worse. If these foreigners, they argued, thus disagreed among themselves about their religion, how was it more true than the teachings of their own priests? If, while commanding to love, they could thus hate one another, which of the commandments of God need be read literally? The seed of the *odium theologicum* never fell upon

a more rankly fertile soil than in Tonga. As soon as the 797
people had grasped the idea that their foreign leaders were 798
not themselves above criticism, they rushed into the field of sectarian strife with the same savage ardour that had fired them in battle a few years before. The Gospel was true, but its evangelists were fallible. They did well enough as leaders of the Church forces, but they were open to the free criticism of their own followers.

Of the means used by the missionaries to inflame the natives against their rivals I might quote many instances. In the 'Apologia,' printed in France by the priests in the 000
most atrocious Fijian, Martin Luther is described as a "disgusting fellow," Wesley as a lying teacher, and the Reformation as brought about by Henry VIII. from even lower motives than those usually assigned to him by hostile historians. The Wesleyans replied to this by a pamphlet printed in red ink in Fijian, intituled 'A Catechism concerning the Catholic Church,' from which I take a few extracts:—

6. *Q.* Do they adduce evidence of their teachings from the Bible?

A. Certainly not. Nor has their religion at any time been general throughout the world.

7. *Q.* Is it right that they should be called disciples of Christ?

A. This is strangely like false teachings and evil deeds, and therefore we disbelieve them.

17. *Q.* Why do not the Papists injure people in England and other countries in these days?

A. Because it is forbidden in the law of the land, and because the people of the true faith are numerous in some countries, and it is therefore impossible.

000 20. *Q.* Is not he [the priest] perhaps a deceiver?

A. In very truth he is. He is like an animal that conceals its claws, and pretends to be inoffensive and tame, and sometimes snaps and bites.

32. *Q.* Are men tortured there [in Roman Catholic countries]?

A. There are many Papists in Rome; and if any one declares the evils of the Popish Church, he is seized in the night and dragged to the House of Inquisition, and shut up there, and is probably never seen again.

120. *Q.* May we not do anything to check those that injure us?

A. Yes, if we do it in a lawful manner, but not in a spirit of anger, but quietly, that good may come of it.

121. *Q.* How then? Is it right that we should feel ill-will towards them [the Catholics]?

A. Certainly not; for Jesus bade us love our enemies.

131. *Q.* Can a priest lie?

A. It is true that many do so, because they are taught that it is allowable, if it be to the glory of God.

134. *Q.* Is it your meaning that it is lawful for the priests or the Papists to lie if they think that it would be of service to their Church when truth would not serve it?

A. It is so. They conceal their sins, and approve the liar, for they say that that which serves the Church of the Pope is to the glory of God.

151. *Q.* Cannot the Englishmen who live in those lands [Spain, Portugal, and Italy] practise their religion?

A. Yes, for they cannot be altogether prevented: but they do it as strangers and very quietly; and if they attempt to teach the people or distribute Bibles, they are dragged to prison or to the Inquisition.

182. *Q.* Who is the "Man of Sin" spoken of by Paul (2 Thess. ii.)?

A. Wise and good men believe that it refers to the Pope.

223. *Q.* Is it true that they [the priests] beat people of the lower orders?

A. Yes. The priests of Ireland take staves and whips, and sometimes beat grown men, and they say nothing.

237. *Q.* What will the Popish priests say of this Catechism?

A. Alas! that it is all lies, and that not a word of it is true.

238. *Q.* What! are we to disapprove of it if they say this?

A. Certainly not, &c., &c.

Such is a fair translation of passages selected from this remarkable document, which, it is to be feared, will be criticised by others than the priests in the terms anticipated by the writer in answer No. 237. Mr Moore, who prostituted his excellent Fijian scholarship to such an end, does not bear the odium of this production alone, for, with a few redeeming exceptions, none of the missionary body have had the taste and Christian feeling to withhold their approbation. The pamphlet was widely distributed among the natives, but whenever the priests could hear of the existence of a copy, they immediately bought it up.

As lately as the end of 1892 a Mr Chapman, one of the Wesleyan missionaries in Fiji, whose excuse for his conduct was that he was returning evil for evil, translated to a public meeting of Fijians, which Roman Catholics were compelled to attend, some revoltingly horrible stories, printed by Father Chiniquy, the Canadian priest who left the Roman Church after fifty years' ministration as a priest, and published two of the most obscene books in the English language. The priests, conceiving the stories to be applied personally to two of their number, sued Chapman in the Supreme Court of the colony, and though they lost their case, they had the satisfaction of hearing

000 the defendant's conduct reprobated by the Chief-Justice as
it deserved. Nothing abashed, the Wesleyan body rallied
to the support of their calumnious brother, and appealed
to the public to subscribe the costs of his defence.

797 Gradually the fervour of the first converts gave place
798 to the mere heat of partisanship. The Churches flourished
795 simply from their rivalry with each other. The Wesleyans
poured their offerings into the missionary-basins as
a defiance to the taunts of the Roman Catholics. The
Catholics flocked to the church festivals to prove the
superior attractions of their form of worship. But after
the fall of Bea, and the consequent conversion of the
heathen to one Church or the other, the active quarrels
between the two missions began to die down. The Wesleyans
were the strongest, and the Catholics saw that they
could gain nothing by over-zeal in proselytising. The
king and most of the influential chiefs were on the other
side, and the attractions of pictures, music, and processions
in their services did not outweigh the pleasures of being
allowed to pray and preach, which were permitted to
000 every Wesleyan who had a turn in that direction. As an
intelligent Wesleyan in Fiji once put it in accounting for
the popularity of his Church, "among the Catholics there
is no *torotoro* (promotion). In our Church we may hold
family prayers twice a-day, and one may be a local
preacher without ever entering the ministry. If that is
not enough, one may enter the ministry and at last be
ordained like the white clergy, and may preach continually,
waxing hot in the discourse. The Papists have none of
these pleasures. They may only listen to the priests
without ever being allowed to preach."

The Wesleyan missionaries had made two mistakes— 797
they had humbled the chiefs, and they had vilified their
rivals. They were now to make a third. Political power
was in their grasp, and with the fearlessness of deep
ignorance they rushed on their doom. Brought up in 797
Australia to believe that universal suffrage and repre- 177
sentative government is the nearest approach to Utopia 642
attainable by mortal man, they persuaded the king and
chiefs against their better judgment to exchange the
ancient communal system for a bran-new constitution on
the English plan. Those who have seen the machine at
work in the Australian colonies will know best how it
was to behave in Tonga. They had sealed the fate of
their own cause. The commoners, accustomed to let their
chief think for them, now found themselves free to think
and act as their inclinations led them, and the first result
was a weakening of the influence of the missionaries,
who began to find the smattering of education they had
given to their native helpers a source of danger. The 797
native ministers had a vote in their district meetings, and 793
began to exercise it independently. Awkward questions 465
were whispered about salaries. What was the difference
between the foreigner and the Tongan, that the one should
have £200 a-year and a wooden house, and the other £20
and a grass hut? When Mr Baker brought his acquisi- 797
tive genius to bear upon the system of mission collections, 795
the conference in Sydney had still the absolute disposal
of the funds, and the country was annually drained of
many thousands of dollars over and above the cost of local
expenditure. Demands were not unnaturally made for
a share in the disposal of this money, and, as I have

797 related elsewhere, the Conference unwisely resisted the
795 demand for home-rule until it was too late, and Mr
Baker had gone over to the enemy and founded the Free
Church. Then all the dormant fires of sectarian hatred
burst out afresh. The majority of the native ministers,
tempted by the promise of higher salaries, went over in
a body to a Church in which they had greater liberty,
798 higher pay, and a satisfied feeling of patriotism. They
795 scarcely needed Baker's encouragement to persecute the
minority that remained faithful, for they knew that upon
the universality of the new Church depended their appointments.
The old, regarding them as traitors, would
never have taken them back except at a great disadvantage.
So they persecuted, and thereby awoke in their
opponents all the obstinacy of the Tongan character.

The old Church flourished under persecution as Churches
always have flourished. Left contemptuously alone, it
might possibly have died a natural death: under the
shadow of a promise of martyrdom, some of the vigour
of its lost youth returned to it. But the life-giving fire
was party spirit, not religious feeling. From the establishment
of the Free Church dates the real overthrow
[181] of devotional earnestness among the Tongans. The
change had been long impending, for the temperament
of the people is incapable of a steady warmth. A fire
of enthusiasm that had blazed so fiercely must needs
soon smoulder away into ashes. Henceforward the
form only survived — the spirit had burnt itself out.
795 With the Free Church a fourth party, who mockingly
771 called themselves the *Lotu jio* or "Looking-on Church,"
came into existence. They were the lukewarm, who

had now an excuse for declaring their indifference. For 795
the sake of peace they professed to belong to the Free 771
Church, but they attended none of the services, and in
reality they belonged to no Church at all. The Roman 795
Catholics, as neutrals, sucked no small advantage out
of the quarrel, for they opened their doors to all those
who feared to be Wesleyans and refused to be Free
Churchmen.

It is a compliment to the Rev. J. E. Moulton to say 797
that, in their hour of need, the Wesleyans were un- 798
fortunate in their champion. They wanted a rough-handed fighting man, cool, thick-skinned, and not over-scrupulous, who would meet such a man as Baker on his own ground, and fight him with his own weapons. They had instead a gentleman and a scholar, full of generous impulses and enthusiasm, a born teacher, whose field was the class-room, not the atmosphere of low political intrigue. Against each successive outrage his only resource was protest; and until it was too late and he had earned the king's enmity, he failed to see that calm good-humoured toleration of insult might have undermined Baker's influence where indignant remonstrance only served to strengthen his position. He left all the fighting to his coadjutor,—a gentleman with a natural turn for litigation, whose ill-directed efforts, while they embarrassed the native Government, inflamed the chiefs of the Free Church against the people he was endeavouring to serve.

These missionaries were unable to realise that the steadfastness of their followers was obstinancy under the lash of persecution rather than the fire of religious

797 conviction. The tenets of the new Church were the
798 same as those of the old, and therefore no conscientious
scruples could have weighed with the inflexible minority.
They were held really by the natural repugnance of
every man of independent character to being bullied into
doing a thing he has at first refused. But the mission-
aries expected that, as soon as the removal of Mr Baker
put an end to persecution, the people would flock back to
their old Church. They were bitterly disappointed when
they found that very few of their old adherents cared to
do so. The truth was that the old Church had become
unfashionable, now that its members could no longer have
771 the distinction of aspiring to martyrdom. Indifference
had permeated the new Church and the old alike.
People still went to church because the king did, and
because it was the sole opportunity for the display of
new clothes; but they dropped religion from their con-
versation, and spoke of their respective Churches only
795 as political organisations. The Wesleyan Conference had
[797] withdrawn Mr Moulton, and substituted for him one of
their ordinary ministers, ignorant of the Tongan language
and character, who found himself confronted with an un-
expected difficulty. The returned exiles from Fiji, of
whom the majority of their leading men were composed,
had been spoilt by the fuss that had been made over
[181] them. Their natural conceit as Tongans had been so
[563] fostered by their admiring friends, that they would no
longer submit to the control of any foreigner were he
563 a hundred times their minister. Perhaps the antagonism
797 to Europeans, which the early missionaries in their war
against the traders had so industriously cultivated, was

partly responsible for this. The missionary found himself 563
outvoted by the members of his own district meeting, 797
and the last vestige of the power of the missionaries was
gone.

One of the strangest features in this struggle of op- 837
posing forces was the unwitting modification in the Chris- 795
tian code as taught by the missionaries themselves. The 797
people were polygamists. Their climate, physique, and [684]
mode of life conduced to incontinence, which, however, was
kept in check by a severe social code of their own. This
the missionaries swept away. For the dread of immediate
physical punishment which the people felt, the mission-
aries tried to substitute the fear of retribution in another
world,—a contingency too remote to have much weight
with them. The standard of social morality, never very [183]
high, was at once lowered, and the astonished missionaries
tried in vain to stem the flowing tide with every penalty
they could invent and enforce. Gradually their own sense
of proportion became warped. The seventh command-
ment overshadowed all the others in their mental horizon.
The police, taking their cue from the Sunday sermon, [625]
let felons go their way, and spent all their energies in [674]
tracking down philanderers. Even the Legislature, copy- [646]
ing the early missionary codes, gave such a prominence [671]
to offences against the social laws, that, provided a man
kept the seventh commandment in its widest application,
he might commit almost any other crime in the calendar.

The change in the temper of the people has not taken 797
place without a corresponding change in the spirit of the
missionaries. Tonga and Fiji are no longer regarded as
the fields for men of special talents. The young men sent

797 there by the Conference in Australia seem to be chosen at haphazard from among the ordinary recruits for the Wesleyan ministry. They themselves appear to regard their mission as a profession rather than as a call, and to attach greater importance to the details of church government than to the spirit of missionary enterprise. Few of them are sufficiently interested in the natives to care to learn more of their inner life than has a direct bearing upon
[798] their church membership. I may even say without harshness that their chief efforts are devoted to securing adequate collections, and to defeating the work of their rivals, the Roman Catholics. From the 'Methodist Missionary Review' of November 1892 I take the following ingenuous passage from the pen of the most active among the present missionaries in Fiji: "Our average for the past three years has been £1000 a-year. Some of our mountain sections have greatly increased their subscriptions, so that I do not walk hundreds of miles across the awful paths of Colo for nothing." In another place the same writer jocosely alludes to a curious system of remuneration: "Now there arose a new Mission Board over the brethren in foreign fields, and they said — through the General Secretary—'Behold, the children of these missionaries are more and mightier every year; come, let us deal wisely with them, lest they multiply and cause a debit balance in the annual accounts.' So it has come to pass that the brethren in the foreign fields have been notified that *a reduction of five guineas per annum will be made on all children born after the 31st December next.*" One cannot forbear wondering whether this heartless order had the desired effect.

The experience of Hawaii, New Zealand, Tonga, and 797
Fiji, goes to teach us that the active life of Christian 171
missions in the South Seas is from fifty to seventy years. A mission was founded in New Zealand by Mr Marsden in 1814. The missionaries, being men of a lower class than those who laboured in Polynesia, used their opportunities for acquiring private property in land, a fact that, among a people so earth-hungry as the Polynesians, may have precipitated the crisis. Hauhauism, that strange compound of Christianity and paganism, broke out in 1865, and finally quenched the spark of life that remained to the mission after the war.

The mission in Tonga, founded in 1822 by Mr Lawry, and shattered by the dissensions of 1887, enjoyed an active life of sixty-five years. The Wesleyan mission in Fiji, founded in 1837, is already showing evident signs of decay. I do not allude to the practice of *Tuka* (Immortality), a pagan cult curiously like Hauhauism, which was put down by the Government in 1887, and has since reappeared at intervals, but to that general inanition that has proved fatal to the Church in Tonga. Nor is this surprising when one remembers upon how slender a base most of these conversions rest. A vast majority of Tongans and Fijians embraced Christianity because, for political reasons, it suited their chiefs to do so. One who was 000
present at the conversion of an entire tribe in Fiji once gave me an account of the ceremony. A great feast was made for the missionary, who took his seat by the side of the chief. The heathen priest, taking a kava root in his hand, thus addressed the ancestor-gods: "This is the paltry feast which we, your poverty-stricken children,

000 have made for you. It is our farewell to you: do not be angry with us that we are going to leave you for a time. We are your children, but for a time we are going to worship the god of the foreigners: nevertheless, be not angry with us!" Then the gods consumed the spiritual essence of the meat, and the missionary and his suite ate 797 its grosser material fibre and enjoyed it very much. To the converted native the heathen gods are not always false gods; they continue to exist, but they have been deserted for a time in favour of the gods of the foreigners. This is why relapses into heathenism on the part of the most promising converts will always be so dangerously easy. The spirits of their ancestors are to them what Baal and Rimmon were to the people of Israel—existing beings, who may at any time become malignant and [798] demand propitiatory sacrifice. With so thin a curtain drawn between the old and the new faith, the fickleness of the natives, and the coolness that always follows hard upon the white heat of conversion, have doubtless each contributed their share to the decay of mission influence; but I venture to assert that the main cause has been the unseemly dissension between the Churches, and the enlistment of the natives in feuds utterly unworthy of the Christianity the missionaries profess to be teaching.

I do not forget that the Wesleyans were first in the field, and that all these evils might have been avoided if, as in British New Guinea, the Churches had agreed upon exclusive spheres of influence, with well-defined boundaries for each mission. But the time for that has gone by, and it remains for the missions to look to the condi-

797 tions of their very existence in a spirit of mutual conciliation and tolerance.

It is an ungrateful task to endeavour to pass a friendly criticism upon so privileged a body as the missionaries. No one has yet attempted it without being accused of blind prejudice or envy that wilfully ignores the good in order to drag into a false prominence the defects from which no great undertaking is free. If I seem to have erred in speaking strongly of imperfections that continue to suck the life-blood of the mission, it is because they might easily be removed if the missionaries could clear their eyes from the petty irritations of the moment, and see that their real interests lie in following the doctrine they are teaching—to have charity one toward another. [795] Their predecessors achieved a great work. They found the natives almost irredeemable savages, and they so far influenced their outward lives that every man, woman, and child in the islands is a professing Christian; but they are going far towards casting away this precious result for want of a little patience and self-restraint. No one can admire more than I the admirable work that has been done: no one can more deplore the waste of so great an opportunity.

XIV.

AMATEUR LAW-GIVING.

671 797 645 THE dismissed Premier was not only a spiritual and temporal dignitary, he was also the lawgiver of Tonga; yet it was only in the most limited sense that he united the qualities of Moses and Melchisedec.

It has been the fate of Tonga to furnish the vile body on which the legislative experiments of amateurs have been tried. The first written code of law in Tongan history was promulgated in Vavau in 1839, and, crude though it was, it may be doubted whether it was not far better suited to the people than the elaborate but often incoherent effusions of the missionary lawyers of later days. It was King George's own composition, and it was intended for his own people only, to be administered by judges of his own race. There was a long preamble filled with Biblical quotations, after which follow a few plain straightforward clauses such as the following:—

> 671 421 231 It is my mind: That the land should be brought into cultivation and be planted. Hence, I inform you it is unlawful for you to turn your hogs outside the sty. If a hog be found

eating the yams, or destroying the produce of the land, the 671
owner of the hog shall be at once informed that he may shut 421
the hog up, and he shall restore whatsoever be damaged. If 231
the owner neglect to take warning, either in confining his hog, or in recompensing the damage done, and the hog be again found eating the yams, it shall then be lawful to kill the hog, and the owner of the plantation shall have the carcase for his own.

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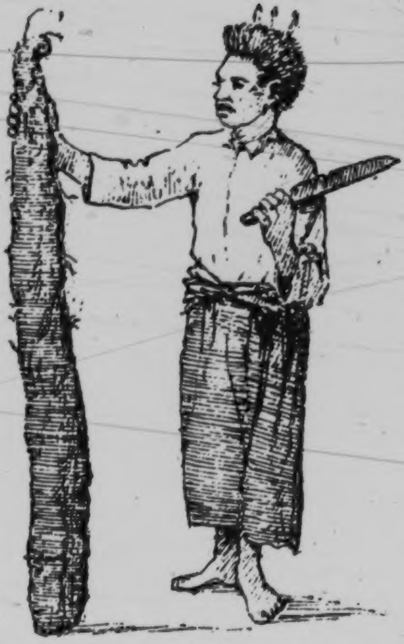

A giant yam.

671
797
177

By the end of 1855 the original code had been so tinkered by the missionaries that little of the original remained. Their hand is detected in the following excellent provision, designed to check the growing indolence of the people, and turn their labour into a channel of profit to the reverend legislators:—

XXXVI. *The law relating to men.*—You shall work and persevere in labouring for the support of your family as well as yourself, and in order to contribute to the cause of God and the chief of the land, and each man shall find a piece of land to cultivate. Any man who is not willing to work, shall not be fed nor assisted, all such persons being useless to the land and its inhabitants, and unprofitable to their friends.

671 Hitherto the laws had merely expressed in writing the
681 prohibitions that already existed in the native mind, but
642 for which no fixed punishment had been stipulated. The
government by chiefs was defined and their powers described,
but it was the same form of government that had
been in force since the social organisation of the people was
642 crystallised out of the primitive family. King George—
797 to his credit be it said—long resisted the importunities of
177 the missionaries to grant his people a Constitution, and
ape the form of government evolved in Europe from
centuries of civilisation. The people were not ready for
it, he said. It might suit England very well. There the
people were perhaps accustomed to think for themselves,
but the Tongans were wont to let their chiefs think for
them.

642 The Tongans had reached a stage of development midway
565 between the patriarchal and feudal systems. Their
chiefs had the blood of the founder of the family in its
purest form, and were the earthly incarnation of their
deified ancestors. Each chief had hereditary retainers
who followed him to battle, and obeyed him in time of
peace; but the constant wars during the latter half of
the eighteenth century had created a lower class of servants
than these—the *tu'a*, children of prisoners of war.
These, together with the illegitimate children of the
chief's father or grandfather (his cousins, in fact, for a
chief bred servants for his descendants), were in the
nature of serfs, leading, however, an easier life than such
642 a designation would imply. The missionaries had perhaps
565 read of Peter the Great and Wilberforce, and they too
797 177 panted to win the grateful admiration of posterity. To

their heated fancy the people appeared as slaves, because 642
they yielded service without fixed wages, and nothing 565
would content them but a formal liberation. They did 797
not stop to reflect that these "serfs" were fed and clothed 177
by their chief, and that as members of his household they
enjoyed privileges which men of their low rank could not
hope for in other societies. If they were contented, they
ought to be taught a noble discontent, and to pine for the
Anglo-Saxon fetish, freedom. King George, as he hoped
to be saved, must "liberate the serfs."

In 1862 he yielded, and signed a bran-new Constitution, 642
drawn up by the missionaries, after a model devised for 797
the King of Hawaii by a Mr St Julian. On the 4th of 177
June 1862 there was a solemn meeting of the newly con-
stituted Parliament. In the intervals of feasting the code
was passed, and at the end of two months the legislators
dispersed, leaving the land as bare as if a swarm of locusts
had passed over it. The missionary historian waxes emo-
tional as he tells of how they contrived to eat 150,000
large yams and 9000 hogs, besides other provisions, and
of how they feasted daily at a board spread in Euro-
pean fashion, clad in decent black broadcloth and white
chokers, to the glory of God and the triumph of mis-
sionary statecraft.

This code was considerably altered,—I reject the word [671]
"amended" advisedly,—and in 1875 a complete penal
code, far too elaborate for the Tongans, yet infinitely
better than the pretentious laws that afterwards repealed
it, was passed by the native Parliament. From 1875 to 642
1888 Mr Baker tried his 'prentice hand at legislation. 797
He altered the Constitution four times, and he drafted 671

642 797 671 and passed laws and ordinances whenever the fit took him, until the body of law had become so confused and conflicting that not even a Blackstone could have cut a path through its thorny labyrinths. Some of these laws were not even read to the Parliament that passed them: more than a few were enacted in English, and never translated into Tongan. Of these, some were printed in the 'Gazette' in English; others had not even this courtesy extended to them. The fatal ease of legislation bred in the Premier's mind a kind of disease—*Legislatitis*—until every idea that flitted through his facile imagination was crystallised into an ordinance, and the cause of every passing annoyance was made penal by enactment. Some one remarked that the wild duck were becoming scarce: an ordinance was passed to preserve them. A ship-of-war was disappointed in not finding coal: a statute converted Nukualofa into a coaling-station for foreign ships. Some urchins shouted "Sail ho!" on the beach near the Premier's office: to cry "Sail ho!" became forthwith a penal offence. Many of these enactments were extremely unpopular; but the wily Premier knew how to let the fury of the mob beat upon other heads than his, and generally caused his laws to be promulgated the day after he sailed for one of his frequent holidays to New Zealand. By the time he returned the people had become accustomed to them.

671 693 [645] The confused state of the law had a remarkable effect upon the magistrates. The only written law within their reach had been so often altered and repealed that they had come to rely for their decisions not upon the written law, but upon the verbal directions of the Prime Minister.

I myself came at last to admit the advantages of this 693
system, since, when I declined to give them advice upon 671
cases *sub judice*, much of my time was occupied in ap- 645
peasing consular representatives for illegalities practised [563]
by the courts upon the subjects of foreign Powers. If I had attempted to right the wrongs of Tongans suffered at the hands of their own magistrates, I should have had
time for nothing else. The stumbling-block of the magis- 693
trates was the subtlety of their reasoning. Not long before 685
my arrival three men were indicted for stealing a pig. It 695
transpired in the evidence that two of them had agreed to keep watch while the third committed the theft. "This," said his worship, "was no ordinary theft; it was con-
spiracy!" He found that his law-book defined conspiracy [671]
as a synonym for *talisone* (treason), and the punishment [687]
provided for *talisone* was twenty years' penal servitude. These criminals were said to be languishing in prison when the general amnesty that followed Mr Baker's fall set them at liberty.

The pliancy of the police magistrates made them, in the 693
hands of a Free Church Government, ready instruments 798
of persecution. The courts took their bias from the attitude of the Executive. Every law that could be made to bear hardly upon the Wesleyans was strained to their discomfort. By an abuse of the land laws they were deprived of their holdings. In places where the minister was the only Wesleyan, he was charged with neglecting to keep the church lands weeded—each enclosure being treated as a separate cause of offence—and imprisoned in default of paying the enormous fines imposed upon him. For all these abuses Mr Baker has, with some injustice, been

693 made personally responsible. He, it is true, gave the
798 bias to the courts, but, once started on their devastating
way, the magistrates in their crass stupidity went to
lengths he would have repudiated had he dared.

They were generally men of inferior calibre. Tongotea, the most notorious, was a handsome, bright-eyed man of about fifty, too young to be naturally tolerant, too old to be reformed. In the missionary reports on the Church troubles his name recurs as often as Mr Baker's in these pages. Execrated by the missionaries, he was not less hated by the traders for his habitual discourtesy and dislike to Europeans when on the bench. He was too hardened an offender to realise that the old order had changed, and we had at last to yield to the continued petitions for his dismissal.

671 At the beginning of 1888 the confusion in the laws had
645 become such a scandal that Mr Baker determined to
797 codify them. He lacked either the courage or the energy
to submit his code to Parliament, and he therefore passed an Act empowering him to "revise" the code of laws and print them in Tongan and English—surely the widest power ever conferred upon an individual in the history of representative government. At the end of two years he had written the English version and about half the Tongan. I have it on the authority of the pundits—native and European—that the Tongan version was so full of errors as to be quite unintelligible; but it is possible that in his anxiety to retain his position as legal adviser to the magistrates, he intentionally made their path thorny and difficult.

The English version is entitled to rank high among the

14: Thomson C-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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curiosities of literature. If compositors turned loose with 671
all the known founts of capitals can alone make a code, 645
then the work was a monument to jurists; but, since the 797
lavishness of printer's art only brings into greater prominence confusion in arrangement, gross contradictions, and vital omissions, the Ministry were justified in not feeling proud of a production for the revision of which they had to pay a bill of fifty guineas to a solicitor in Auckland. But regarded merely as a literary "sport," it was well worth the money. In the "Act relative to Murder" we read:—

> As to poisoning.
>
> Section 11.—Should any one poison any water with evil intent to cause the death of another or others and should the same die he shall be considered guilty of murder and punished accordingly but should the same be known before the death of any one it shall be considered manslaughter of the first degree.

In honestly trying to understand this section, the mind reels backward as in an attempt to realise eternity. Did the reverend jurist mean that if the poisoned person dies he shall be considered guilty of murder, but that if he (the unfortunate victim) be known before the death of some one else, *it* (*i.e.*, the poison, the water, or the death) shall be considered manslaughter? And if not this, what did he mean?

In the "Act relative to Assault and Battery" there is the following remarkable passage:—

> As to assaulting etc one's parents.
>
> Section 13.—Whoever shall strike or assault or throw anything at one's father or one's mother as stated in this Act such person's penalty for any such offence shall be doubled.

671 A Tongan who wished to strike his enemy had first to
645 ascertain whether he had children. These are only two
797 out of the many claims put forth by the late Premier
in this wonderful book to a high place among the unconscious humourists of literature.

692 Following the general policy of complicating the administrative machinery of the tiny State, the law established a vast number of unnecessary law courts. There were (1) the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; (2) the Supreme Court; (3) the three District Courts; (4) the Police Courts. There were thus three appeals against a decision of the police court, and each appeal
696 brought in fees. Even in criminal cases the unfortunate defendant was mulcted in fees which had to be worked off in the form of additions to his term of imprisonment.

Besides these courts there were—the Probate Court,
692
695 the Divorce Court, the Admiralty Court, the Lands Court, and Courts-Martial, for none of which was any form of
428 procedure laid down. In the case of disputed wills I
695 found the practice to be for one claimant to seize the property, and for the other to prosecute him for larceny. In one case an unfortunate widow was convicted at the suit of her stepson of *stealing* her late husband's house in which she was living.

671 We condemned this code on its first hearing. No
645 amount of amendment could make it work. The Tongan
177 version was unintelligible; the English was ridiculous. Nothing less than a new code would meet the necessities of the case. I confess that at first I recoiled from the toil of drafting a code, translating it into Tongan, taking it through Parliament, and passing both volumes through

the press with compositors ignorant of the language they 671
were setting up. The work must be done in odd hours, 645
snatched from arduous administrative duties, in a period 177
of less than six months. I succeeded, and a consideration of the difficulties against which I had to contend should soften the harsher criticisms that may be passed upon my code in the future. I worked upon the Indian Penal Code and the existing law of Tonga, using the plan of the former, and simplifying the latter as far as the constitution would let me. Working far into the night, I made my rough draft in English, and then with the help of a little shorthand writer, Pauli by name, I turned the draft into halting Tongan. This version went sheet by sheet to Tukuaho for conversion into elegant Tongan, and then came back to me for careful revision, lest the sense should have suffered in the process of decoration.

My principal difficulty lay in the Constitution. Though 642
the king readily consented to the abrogation of the laws, [643]
he had an almost superstitious dread of tampering with
the Constitution. This attitude had its advantages when 642
we wanted to silence our opponents of the Radical party 646
in the House. We had only to point to the Constitution, which "Tubou did not wish to alter," as a reason for re-enacting an old statute, and the opposition collapsed; but we were well aware that the pretentious document beginning, "Seeing it appears to be the Will of God for man to be free," with its complicated machinery, designed to deceive strangers into the belief that Tonga was a State growing in importance and prosperity, was utterly unsuited to the Tongans. I had a strong objection to include 642
in my code any matter couched in such wretched English

642 —English of which a schoolboy would be ashamed. I was spared this necessity by an inspiration. Had not Mr Baker himself declared that the Constitution was passed by a Tongan Legislature? It must therefore have been enacted in the native language, and the Tongan version was the original. I had only to translate it back into English, and my code would be cleansed of the phraseology that constitutes Mr Baker's principal claim to distinction.

421 643 423 Chief among the purely Tongan enactments of the new code were the land laws. In former times the soil of Tonga was vested in the Tui Tonga—the spiritual chief. The great nobles and small cultivators held their lands from him, and he had theoretically the right to dispossess them at will. When the office of Tui Tonga became vacant, and the title was absorbed by the present king, the people readily adopted the idea that all the land was vested in the Crown who had the power to grant holdings [565] in return for taxes. But in 1888, Mr Baker, acting either under pressure from the chiefs, or spontaneously wishing to create a landed aristocracy, foolishly caused the king to grant large estates, which he called "inheritances," to a number of hereditary lords, who were to receive from the tenants a rental of $1 per annum for each holding of about eight acres. In dealing with the land I could not hope to rid myself of these superfluous landlords, but I could, without evoking dangerous opposition, deprive them of all power over their estates. I determined to make the Crown collect their rents and pay it over to them, while reserving to itself all rights of granting allotments and evicting tenants. Thus for all practical purposes the land still belonged to the State; for so long as the rents were

paid to the lords of the manor, the Government was 421
virtually the landlord, and the king had voluntarily made 423
over to the Treasury all rents due upon the lands not 643
included within any "inheritance."

The chief obstacle that would confront every Government 423
in Tonga would always be the difficulty in collecting 651
the poll-tax. The people required some stronger incentive
to pay than the fear of levy by distress. To meet this
difficulty I adopted an idea, suggested to me by Mr Hanslip,
that the tenure of land should be made dependent
upon the regular payment of taxes. I converted the poll-tax 423
into a land-tax, and gave to every taxpayer the right 428
of occupying one allotment of a fixed area, inalienable in 651
his family so long as he and his heirs continued to discharge
their debts to the State, but liable to forfeiture if
for three successive years they were guilty of neglect. As [885]
each man arrived at manhood he was entitled to claim an
allotment; and when the father of grown-up sons died
his widow kept his allotment for her lifetime. At her
death each of the sons might choose whether they would
relinquish their own holdings in favour of their father's
or not; but in no case could a man occupy more than
one holding. Thus we combined the "Nationalisation of
land" with the institution of lords of the manor. By 423
changing the name of the tax I disposed of the necessity 651
for claiming it from Europeans, since, being possessed of 563
no land of their own, they could not reasonably be called
upon to pay a "land-tax." The poll-tax had for many
years been the chief grievance of the traders, for Europeans
will pay an amount of indirect taxation which, if
imposed in direct form, would cause a rebellion.

576 A more delicate, if less important, question was that of
the marks of respect to be paid to nobles. The Tongans
still cling tenaciously to certain ancient forms of respect,
such as the unturbaned head and the cinctured waist in
the precincts of a village. To traverse Nukualofa without
a girdle would be a greater solecism than to walk the
length of Piccadilly hatless and in one's shirt-sleeves.
But the more servile forms of homage to chiefs—squatting
at the roadside or performing *moemoe*—were so incon-
venient that by the king's order a *quasi*-military salute
576 was generally substituted. In Polynesia, to raise your-
492 self physically above another is to lay claim to a moral
superiority over him, and the introduction of horses
[156] brought a new difficulty. To sit elevated above the
world on the back of a horse tends to make Tongans
cheeky, just as in Fiji the consciousness of having long
hair makes the most respectful man insolent to his
576 superiors. Many years before, a law had been enacted
492 compelling commoners to dismount when they passed a
565 member of the Upper House, or rode past his house.
The Europeans laid the blame of this enactment at Mr
Baker's door; but, if I may judge from the savage
tenacity with which the nobles clung to this obnoxious
section, it is more probable that the law was passed in
spite of him. Puerile as the restriction appears, let it
not be forgotten that a primitive people is always ruled
by outward forms; and wherever in the Pacific, and in-
deed elsewhere, a tribe is found who show no respect to
their chiefs, there will be a people less susceptible to
government and good order. Such laws, of course, always
tend towards the ridiculous. A noble died, and one Jone

Fifita, his distant cousin, was invested with the vacant 576
title. He was taking the air on the day of his elevation, 492
marching in the middle of the road with the noble mien 565
suited to his new dignity, when seven horsemen, his boon companions in humbler days, met him, showing no disposition to get out of his way.

"Why do you not dismount?" he shouted.

For answer they snatched the empty sacks that lay [689]
across their horses' withers, and, covering their faces with them, deliberately rode him down, crying through the sacks, "Recognise us, and take us to court for insolence, Jone!" His lordship laid informations against several innocent persons who were able to prove an *alibi*, bringing down upon his head thereby the lampoons of half Tonga; for it is fair to say that the Tongans, who have been called the "Snobs of the Pacific," are as quick to recognise and ridicule the peculiar failings of the snob as even Thackeray could have wished.

XV.

INCUBATION.

651 In February our prospects began to look brighter. The copra contract was at an end, and we were free to accept coin for taxes. 651 687 In order to show defaulters that we were in earnest, we directed the police to sue those of two or three villages, and to follow the judgments with execution so closely that they should not have time to transfer their chattels to a neighbour and usher the bailiff into a house swept of its contents, as was the usual custom. After patrolling the town for half an hour with a handbell to attract buyers, the police swooped down upon the doomed house, planted the Tongan ensign before the door, and seized all the portable property in it. Then the [435] *fakatautuki* (sale by the hammer) began. The mats, pots, and *gnatu* were knocked down without much attempt being made to obtain the highest available price, and then as many of the horses, fowls, and pigs as could be caught were sold at an average price—for the horses and poultry at eighteenpence each, and for the pigs at fifteen [435] or twenty times that amount. There are recorded cases of horses being disposed of at these sales for threepence.

This unusually spirited conduct of the Government 651
produced a panic among the defaulting taxpayers. They [687]
became, indeed, almost as unscrupulous in their way of
raising money for the Government as for the Churches.
In the next three weeks we began to see our way out
of our financial difficulties. The debt could already be 652
discharged by instalments, and the arrears of salary to 646
officials could safely be left to Parliament, upon whose
rather reckless imagination it might have a healthy re-
straining influence when the Budget came to be discussed.
My chief concern was to prevent my colleagues from re-
volting against the rigid economy I had enforced upon
them, now that they knew there was a balance in the
Treasury. About this time a meeting of the Cabinet was 645
held to decide finally upon the Budget that was to be 652
laid before Parliament. Tukuaho fully explained that the 465
sole object of the meeting was to secure unanimity among
the Ministers. We took the items *seriatim*—salaries first.
When we came to the Premier's department, Kubu pro-
posed that Tukuaho should withdraw, and thus relieve us
of the delicacy of discussing the question of his emolu-
ments in his presence. And now began a very elegant
display of log-rolling. Tukuaho's salary was raised at
one stroke from £400 a-year to £700. Then Kubu's turn
came, and he withdrew, to receive an addition of £50; and
the whole of the Cabinet, except the Chief-Justice, who
was absent, were in like manner handsomely provided for.
My lips were sealed, because my own salary was being
voted for the additional term of six months for which
the High Commissioner, at the king's request, had allowed
me to remain, and the Ministers would have been in-

645 capable of distinguishing between voting an ordinary salary
652 and voting themselves an addition, since both acts sprang
465 from a high-minded liberality. But that night Tukuaho, who was the one member of the Cabinet who cared more for his work than for its emoluments, came to ask me whether the minutes of the meeting might not be cancelled and
576 expunged from the book. He wanted no increase of salary, he said; but when they had voted him one, he could not in decency refuse the same courtesy to others. It was a *mea fakatonga*—a necessity of Tongan etiquette; and since even the incorruptible Sateki had yielded to the prevailing spirit of generosity, and had accepted an increase of £30, I suppose that it was.

661 We now gave political dinners almost nightly. As
646 Parliament drew near, and rumours reached us of vengeance vowed over the kava-bowls of Vavau, Tukuaho lost no opportunity of seizing and converting all the influential Vavauans who chanced to visit Nukualofa. No sooner did they set foot in the capital than they received an invitation to dine with me. Besides G—— and myself, the party usually consisted of Tukuaho, his father or Kubu, and the victim. Our quarry would fain have borrowed from his friends for the occasion the full panoply of European dress, but the invitation always specified native attire. There was a dinner with champagne, and as soon as the only lady had withdrawn, whisky and politics. The guest always went away with triumph in his heart that among all the chiefs of Vavau the Cabinet had thought *his* advice only as worth seeking. He generally wept over the parting glass: he always swore by "Jihovah" to support us to the death. From

that day forth he had no part with his fellow-mal- 661
contents. What knew they of the secrets that had been 646
intrusted to him? When they grumbled he wagged his
head as befits one who could speak 'an he would.

My code was nearly finished. My little clerk had well 671
earned the copy of 'Hymns Ancient and Modern' he had
begged as the guerdon of his services, and a large part of
the Tongan version had come back in type from the Auck-
land printers. Parliament was to be opened in May, and 666
there was little enough time for holding the general elec-
tion. The existing code contained elaborate directions for
the guidance of the electoral officers, and laid down as one
of the qualifications for electors that they should have paid
up all arrears of taxes before voting. In this we thought 666
we recognised an opportunity for a final effort to induce 651
the defaulters to pay their debts to the State. Nightly
for a whole week the crier proclaimed throughout the
villages that defaulters would be deprived of the price-
less right of choosing their representatives in Parliament.
It was perhaps the experience of past elections that robbed
our scheme of the result we had so good a right to expect.
If the proper ritual had been followed, an election should 666
have been just such a ceremony as would delight the soul
of a Tongan. By law an elector could write the name of
his dearest friend on the ballot-slip and pop it into the
box, and until the result was declared the excitement
must have far transcended the stir at the most hotly
contested election in England, since even the meanest
elector might find parliamentary honours showered upon
him unsought. I understood, however, from my col-
leagues, that in practice the free and enlightened elec-

666 tors played a very secondary part. "We were called," said my informant, "to a *fono* on the grass behind the
666 Government offices. Mr Baker came out on the ver-
797 andah and said, 'You are summoned to-day to choose
645 a representative of the people. I propose So-and-so. Those who are in favour of So-and-so will hold up their hands!' Then several held up their hands, and Mr Baker said that So-and-so was elected, and we all went home."

666 It was not to be hoped that after such experiences the privilege of being an elector would succeed where the terrors of the law had failed. We heard afterwards, when it was too late, that had the hundreds of disqualified electors known the nature of the entertainment we provided for them, they would have sold their goods and given to the Government rather than miss it.

To invest the first free election with proper solemnities a deputation of his Majesty's Ministers presided. Below the verandah where we sat was a table furnished with writing materials and the ballot-box. The entire male adult population of Nukualofa sat in a semicircle on the grass-plot, hemmed in with police as at a *fono*. Tukuaho read the clauses of the Constitution relating to elections, and explained that every qualified elector might write the name of whomever he would upon the ballot-slip. Then he called upon those who still owed their taxes for the year 1889 to withdraw: about half the people rose and
[795] went away laughing. The dismissal of the defaulters for 1890 sent away fully one-half of the remainder; and when "all persons under twenty-one years of age" had left us,

there remained barely one hundred persons, composed, I 666
saw with growing consternation, almost exclusively of 795
Wesleyans—returned exiles—and men so old and infirm as to be excused from taxes altogether. It was our own fault. We had forgotten that the Wesleyans, having been excused all taxes due for the period of their exile, had only had one dollar to pay, and had paid it in order to prove that their loyalty to the State was stronger than that of the Free Churchmen. The qualified electors were, therefore, Wesleyans almost to a man. The inevitable came to pass. Each man came to the ballot-box and filled up his paper without hesitation, and the scrutiny showed that four Wesleyans had been chosen to represent a constituency in which a vast majority were Free
Churchmen. Fortunately one of them was a British 666
subject, and I was able to give him his choice between repudiation of his nationality or voidance of his seat. As I expected, he chose the latter, and in his place Hoho, pre-eminent among Roman Catholic schoolmasters, was elected. Having thus initiated Sibu, the new ballot-clerk, in his duties, we left him to hold the other elections throughout the kingdom.

"He never yet stood sure that stands secure." With a 643
balance in the treasury, and an ever-strengthening party, 645
we were comfortably congratulating ourselves when the bolt fell. One evening while the Ministry were playing bowls on the sea-front after a protracted meeting of the Cabinet, a schooner was seen bearing down upon the anchorage. She was recognised as Maatu's vessel from Vavau, and we were idly speculating on her errand when she brought to unexpectedly and lowered a boat without

643 going to the wharf. Two men sprang ashore and ran
645 towards us. Their news justified their haste. Tubou was
dying, and they were sent to summon the lords of Tonga-
643 tabu to be with him at the last. Divested of the exag-
[164] geration natural to all bearers of evil tidings, the story
ran that four days previously the king had bathed as
usual at daybreak and had caught a chill. For two
days his illness caused no alarm, but on the third he
grew worse and sent for his chiefs. When old Tungi
heard this he collapsed and said, "If Tubou summoned
his chiefs, it is the end; by this time the heavens have
fallen!" (*kuo hala ae langi.*)

For me, no less than the country, no more disastrous
event could have happened than the king's death. The
whole castle of cards that I had been so painfully rearing
during the last eight months would topple headlong to
the ground. The balance in the Treasury, nursed with
unflinching watchfulness and parsimony, would be swal-
lowed up at one gulp in the expenses of the funeral; the
public servants, trained to attend their offices by a system
of judicious nagging, would, in the idleness inseparable
from great public ceremonies, return to their former
habits; public tranquillity, so hardly won, would give
[646] place to disturbance, and perhaps civil war. Even if,
[645] by a miracle, all these disasters could be averted, and
[671] Parliament be brought together, the Ministry could not
hope to pass the new laws without the king's sanction.
If the king was dead there was nothing left for me but to
stay and try to keep the peace. It was idle to hope that
the work on which I had built so much could survive.
It was one of those crises in which one is paralysed by the

knowledge that effort is useless. Impending misfortune 643
that calls for action is endurable: it is the passive waiting
for the bolt to fall that is so hard to bear.

After the first moment of consternation all the paraphernalia of civilisation were thrown to the winds, and
for the first time I caught a glimpse of old Tonga. In the 643
presence of death the king's Ministers sank each to the 565
social status his forefathers had held for generations before 554
him. Ata, Lord of Hihifo, who was, politically speaking,
a nonentity, became now the chief figure. He with Tungi
must be at the dying king's side. Tukuaho and Kubu,
having fathers still living, sank into obscurity. The
schooners were victualled and loaded far below safety
mark with a living freight of chiefs and *matabules.* Tongatabu was left to the care of Sateki and me, for neither of
us had concern in the great affairs that were toward. A 643
hush fell upon the island—the hush of a great expectancy.
Men spoke to one another in low voices when they met [521]
in the street, and all traffic of carts from the plantations [484]
was suspended. The houses were all crowded with men
and women, even at high noon, always talking earnestly of
the time that was coming upon them.

Tukuaho had sailed primed with good advice for all emergencies. I spent two days of great anxiety. On the third a sail was seen in the northern passage. A huge concourse of people had collected on the beach when she brought to, and suppressed excitement was in every face. Scarcely a word was spoken as the dinghy pulled ashore. Would the men never speak? At last the steersman, a grey-haired *matabule,* stood up and cried, "*Oku lelei a Tubou!*" (It is well with Tubou!) and a great sob of

643 gratitude and relief went up from the assembled people. The suspense of the mob turned to wild garrulous joy, and the news ran from mouth to mouth that the king had awakened from a long stupor and had called for food, and that from that moment his recovery had been rapid and sure. Two days later we learned that he and all his chiefs were on their way to the capital; and at daybreak one morning the five schooners that formed the fleet of Tonga, led by the Toafa Haamea flying the royal standard, made their appearance in the passage.

Strange are the uses of flattery! I had occasion to see the king alone a few days after his arrival. He was at his best when seen informally, and I generally found my way to his room unannounced, leaving—if the conversation was to be of a private nature—a trusty policeman, sworn to Tukuaho's interest, to keep the sentry from playing eavesdropper at the corner of the Palace verandah. The room was empty, and hearing voices from the back-verandah, I reconnoitred from the screen of an oleander-
643 bush. The old man was sitting cross-legged between two
576 burly native carpenters, and was trying with his tremulous
hands to shave down an axe-haft to fit the steel head, discoursing to his companions of his ancient prowess in their craft. They meanwhile watched his nerveless efforts with affected admiration, looking like schoolboys who are taking their first lesson in tying flies from the village poacher. At last the king flung his knife and axe-haft petulantly aside, saying, "What has come to me? You do it." A burly courtier took up the tool with a silly smile. For him the job was the work of a moment; but as the knife neared the wood his hand shook so that not a

single shaving curled off. He kept up the farce until the 643
king snatched the tool from him with a good-humoured 576
laugh, saying, "You're worse than I am!" I do not know whether that axe was ever finished, because in the laugh that followed I was seen and recognised, and the carpenters disappeared. This was delicate flattery, for besides his prowess in battle and on the sea Tubou was most famous for his skill in carpentry, and in Tonga the carpenter enjoys the same consideration as the artist in Europe.

In the South Seas imitation is not always the sincerest 576
flattery. Some years ago I was walking with Roko Tui Nandronga on an impassable goat-path, which he dignified with the title of "Government road." We had to pass along a steep descent of red clay, ice-slippery with the night's rain. The Roko was followed by a dozen or so of his retainers in single file. Half-way down the hill the chief slipped and fell flat on his back with a loud shout, and almost simultaneously every one of his followers did the same, leaving me standing alone. When they got up, with their clean white *sulus* bedaubed with red mud, they pretended one and all not to have seen the chief's fall, and for the next ten minutes they discoursed to each other of the exact cause of their tumble. One knew from the first that he would fall, another had a sore toe, and so on. Of course the chief knew perfectly well that the falls were intentional, as did each one of his followers; but the act has become conventional, and so they all play their proper parts in the farce. Can we, who limp in imitation of a personage's deformity, or who wore crinolines which were designed to conceal a personage's misfortune, afford to laugh at them?

694 563 Hardly had the king returned when a new task was thrust upon my collar-galled shoulders. The contractor for the tax-copra, to whom I have before alluded, brought an action against the Government in the High Commissioner's Court to recover damages for the losses he had sustained through over-estimating the amount of copra the taxpayers would bring in. To the Tongans, knowing nothing of civil jurisdiction, the position of defendant in a court of law has mysterious terrors. "Here," they said, "is the fruit of this new Government! We are to be haled to court and punished for the sins of Tukuaho and his foreign adviser. We shall be fined, and then a man-of-war will come and perhaps seize the country." There being no counsel within reach, I had to conduct the case in person. I felt sure enough of my ground to promise the king a victory, or at least that, in the event of defeat, I would myself pay whatever damages were given against us; and this confident assurance went far to dispel his alarm: but the case occupied seventeen precious days at a time when they could least be spared. Yet our victory afterwards proved to be almost worth the waste of time, for the fickle mind of the Tongans leans ever to the winning side, and our contractor unwittingly gained us many adherents in Parliament.

793 645 609 [798] The Free Church ministers, aghast no doubt at the portent of the election of four Wesleyans to represent Nukualofa, now shot their last bolt. They began to preach against me in the pulpit. Early one Monday morning a letter written in Fijian was handed to me with great secrecy by a mounted messenger from Hihifo, who had followed me about until he found me alone. It

was from an old Fijian friend of mine, who wrote to tell 793
me that in two pulpits at least I had been the text for 645
the sermon of the previous day. One preacher, after 609
describing the distrust with which my arrival had inspired him, said, "We hear a great deal about stealing and embezzlement. What? Do foreigners never steal? This one who guides our Government has stolen 7000 dollars from the Treasury, and who knows how much more of our money he will take?" In the sermon of the other there was a passage not less startling. "When the theft became known the foreigner went to Tukuaho and said, 'Who told the people this?' And Tukuaho said, 'It was Sateki. You know his way: let a matter be ever so secret, Sateki will find it out.' Hearing this the foreigner was silent and cast down."

I put the matter in Tukuaho's hands. The police made inquiries, and traced the story to its source in the fertile
brain of the first preacher. The Cabinet decided that [694]
policy demanded a prosecution for slander, but that if the [696]
man was convicted I might obtain a pardon for him from the king. This course was taken. The incident was instructive in the light it threw upon the estimation in which Europeans are held in Tonga. No calumny against them is thought too gross to be ridiculous. The responsibility for such a state of things must rest upon those Europeans—missionaries as well as laymen—who have stooped to defame one another to the natives.

The High Commissioner, in H.M.S. Cordelia, now 609
appeared upon the scene. It chanced that the gunboat 648
Goldfinch, bound from Rarotonga to Fiji, had put in on the preceding day in search of coal, knowing nothing of the

609 Cordelia's visit. Tongans never admit coincidences. I
648 was asked for explanations and gave them, but my questioners shook their heads gravely, and spread it abroad that
the gunboat had been sent by the High Commissioner
to prepare his way, but that for his own purposes "the
expounder" had chosen to shroud the truth in mystery.
Since this self-deception was more likely to do good
than harm, I made no effort to belittle the importance of
[643] Sir John Thurston's visit. The king received him with
effusion, and had evidently lost all uneasiness about the
ulterior objects of his coming. An amendment to the
treaty between Great Britain and Tonga was to be signed,
and I found myself in the odd position of representing a
foreign Government in negotiations with my chief—being,
in fact, at the same time an officer in the English and the
609 Tongan services. The presence of the Cordelia had a
645 curious effect upon my relations with the king and my
123 colleagues. They seemed suddenly to remember that I
was not one of them, and the old confidence between us
gave place to an almost imperceptible constraint, which,
as soon as the ship sailed, disappeared as suddenly as it
000 had come. To Sir John Thurston, who remembered the
anxieties that had beset him a year before, the visit must
have brought that satisfaction which is the reward of
every one who, having chosen one of two opposite courses,
finds that it was the wisest as well as the most courageous.

XVI.

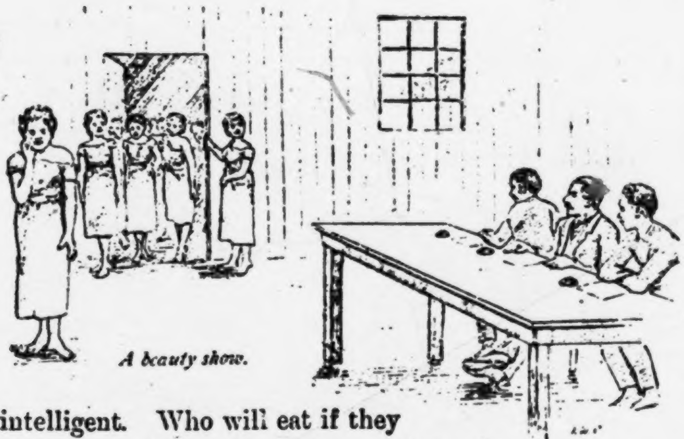
LORDS AND COMMONS IN COUNCIL.

THE Ministry were at last in a position to fix the day for 645
the making of history. The Code was drafted, the representatives 646
of the people were all duly elected, the new 661
uniforms had come from a Sydney tailor, and the store on the wharf was piled high with sacks of provisions and cases of strong liquors, upon which the fate of the Ministry mainly depended, since legislators cannot be complaisant on empty stomachs. In this again I was compelled to recognise the master mind of the late Premier. It may be inconvenient to force upon the Ministry the task of catering for the parliamentary table, but so long as one has to reckon with the physiological fact that the road to a man's heart is down his throat, the arrangement gives a Government of epicurean tendencies an immense advantage over the Opposition.

The King's Guards, the band, the College students, and 466
the clerks of the House had all undergone rehearsals: 645
there remained but one important function before the Parliament 646
was ready for the business of the country. Wait-

645 resses had to be selected for the dining-table of the House.
646 Kubu invited me to form one of the committee charged
466 with the delicate duty of selecting a band of twenty from
among the competitors. We took our seats at the long
table in the hall, and sternly ordered the candidates to
be brought before us. A clerk with the instruments of
his trade sat beside us, to give an air of formality to
the proceedings. "Two things are necessary," I heard it
whispered; "they must be comely, and they must be
intelligent. Who will eat if they
be ugly? and stupid women will break
the plates." Then from the door that led kitchenwards
twenty damsels sidled in and sat down on the long
[516] form facing us. Some sucked their fingers in bashfulness; a few looked shyly defiant; the majority giggled.
None of them looked as if they would break plates, but
several fell short, very far short, of the first require-
[576] ment. One damsel in particular had been so harshly
treated by Nature that I whispered my doubts to my

[291]



A beauty show.

neighbour. "It is true," he answered, "but we can 645
never reject her for such a reason. She would die of 646
shame. The other girls would cast it in their teeth." So 466
they were all taken and divided into watches under the [576]
leadership of matrons of experience,—four to the kitchen,
and eight to each of the tables destined to accommodate
the Lords and Commons. Those who had never waited
at table before were ordered to take lessons in the houses
of the missionaries; and Joe, the captain of the Kumeti,
was appointed head steward and keeper of the spirit-room,
because strong liquors were known to disagree with
him.

At last the contingent from the distant Niuas arrived, 646
and we became anxious that the opening of Parliament,
already delayed three weeks beyond the appointed time,
should take place without further delay. Rumour had 203
been busy on the beach. The king, it was said, would not 646
open Parliament until the High Commissioner had left:
the Government were afraid to face the Vavau contingent
in their present frame of mind. The former rumour determined
us to fix the opening ceremony a day or two
before H.M.S. Cordelia left. The king made no difficulties; 645
and the last week of preparation was spent in 646
meetings of the Cabinet and Privy Council, in final rehearsal,
and in providing with open-handed liberality for
the creature comforts of the Opposition.

There was but one hitch in the arrangements. We had 643
prepared the King's Speech with some care. The only 645
allusion to the political events of the recess was a short
sentence, "You all know that I have lately dismissed my
Premier, and have appointed a Tongan in his stead." The

643 645 Speech had been copied out and submitted to the king; for several days we heard no more of it. Half afraid that our opponents would contrive to see it and endeavour to have it altered, at the last moment I insisted upon Tukuaho asking for it back. After some delay it was produced—in another handwriting as I expected. The passage about Mr Baker had been so altered as to convey an untrue and improper meaning. The handwriting was Sateki's, but he seems to have been merely the amanuensis. Rather than that it should stand in its present form, I took the Speech to the king. He was evidently expecting a remonstrance, and showed in his tone that he was on the defensive. "But why allude to the past?" I asked.

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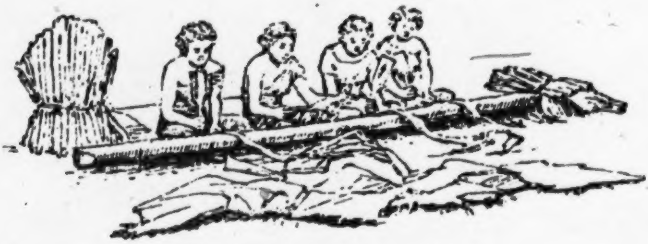


"*The faint tap of the* gatu *mallets.*"

"Was it I who did so?" he said. Then apparently satisfied with having his advantage, he laughed, and readily allowed me to expunge the whole passage.

646 291 The great day dawned cloudless and drowsy. The hum of the fleecy breakers on the distant reef, the faint tap of the *gatu* mallets, vaguely suggested a reverie in a hammock and the unsubstantial folds of the *vala;* but native garments were to-day forbidden, for Parliaments in civilised

646 lands are not opened in bare legs save in the imagination
291 of Carlyle.

291 For days past the stores on the beach have done a spirited trade in trousers, coats, and shoes—not the sort of shoes that may be bought by the dozen at any bootmaker's, but majestic fabrics of leather, built expressly for the opening of South Sea Parliaments, upon a special last 14 inches long by 8 or 9 broad. Such shoes as these cannot be lightly used. And so the spiritual guides of the people, when teaching that no self-respecting Tongan should attend church without black coat and trousers, admitted the religious principle that a man might work out his salvation in bare feet, and the shoes were relegated to the meetings of Parliament.

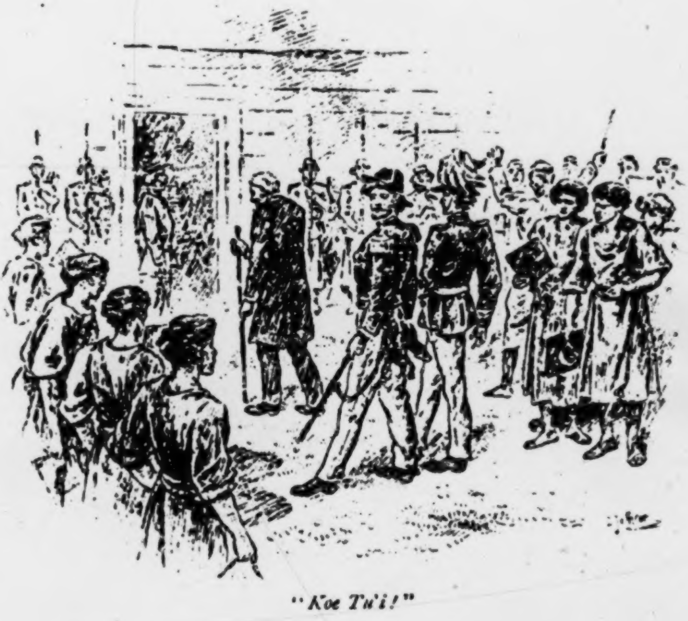
646 [133] The scene outside is very picturesque. It is high tide, and the sea laps to the very edge of the short grass that carpets the approach to the white Parliament House. The tall spars of the Cordelia tower above the spires of the miniature palace. The College students, dressed in white, are drawn up in two lines, so as to form a lane from the palace to the doors. The band and guard of honour look undeniably smart, both in their bearing and
178 the polish of their accoutrements. It is a strange con-
646 trast with the same scene as it is described by Labil-
[175] lardière in 1791, exactly a century ago, when Mumui held his *faikava* on Sion Hill, now crowned with a church, but then with those twenty-four funny little huts into each of which a Cabinet Minister crawled to sleep off the effects of the Court bowl. Those were dark days before the *lotu* had illumined the minds of men, and most of the actors in to-day's scene, booted and be-trousered, full of the

646 pride of progress and the *odium theologicum*, are heartily 178 ashamed of their forefathers. Truly missionary enterprise has worked great changes.

646 The House was filled long before the appointed hour. Tukuaho had issued invitations to most of the traders. Native ladies of rank, and a few of the chiefs who held no seat, were accommodated below the gangway: men and women of every shade of colour filled the benches in front of them. It is an anxious moment for the newly-appointed Sergeant-at-Arms, Kubu's brother, Kalauta, who is charged with the duty of finding room for every one. [565] The "Representatives of the People" (as the Constitution [645] calls them) are packed into the benches on the right side of the House above the gangway; the Nobles on the left behind the Treasury bench, where sit the Cabinet Ministers, headed by Goschen, who, in a naval frock-coat and check trousers, gives a tone of elegance to the whole [648] Ministry. The next front bench has with difficulty been [644] reserved for the suite of the High Commissioner, whose British uniforms are thrown into shade by the magenta satin gowns that clothe the portly forms of the Princesses 643 Charlotte and Anna Jane behind them. On the crimson 646 daïs is the king's gilt chair; and beside it the royal crown, the heaviest in the world, reclines upon its cushion supported by a three-legged table. The crown was bought by the late Premier from some merchants in Sydney, and, but for the verdigris in the flutings, might very well pass for gold.

[533] The suspense is broken at last by the rattle of saluting arms, and the blare of the Tongan National Anthem. Kalauta shouts "*Koe Tu'i!*" and we all rise as the king

strides into the room soberly clad, almost erect for all his 643
ninety years, the one dignified figure in all this motley 646
assembly of his subjects. A sovereign who wields absolute power may well tire of pomp and circumstance after his ninetieth year. He is followed by his aides-de- [644]
camp, George Finau, dressed in the uniform of a British [292]



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"*Koe Tu'i!*"

admiral, and Taufaahau in that of a colonel of the Colonial Defence Forces. As the king takes his seat Taufaahau steps forward and unrolls the Speech from the Throne. May I be acquitted of the charge of disrespect to a reigning monarch if I remark that King George Tubou II., when still Taufaahau and aide-de-camp to his great-grand-

643 646 father, did not read well. The Speech consisted of the usual Ministerial platitudes, congratulations upon "our cordial relations with the other Powers," and promises for the future. The allusion to the past was very brief. He, the king, gave thanks to God that these clouds were happily dispersed, and left it to the Legislature to provide for the future by revising all the laws and regulating finance. [177] [829] [875] [759] Convinced that their efforts in pursuit of civilisation would not be crowned with complete success until they mastered another language besides their own, and that national prosperity could not be assured unless the population ceased to decrease, he had provided them with a schoolmaster for their minds and a doctor for their bodies. In conclusion, he commended them to God, and trusted that there would be no more dissension between the Churches—the expectation which, in the present temper of the missionaries, is, of all those contained in the Royal Speech, the least likely to be realised. The king interrupted the Speech twice, telling the reader impatiently to speak up.

It had been intended to unveil a picture of the king, but almost before Taufaahau had articulated the closing words, his Majesty rose and strode out as he had come, with the air of a man who has loyally discharged an irk- [533] some duty. The band dash recklessly into the triumphal march from Tannhäuser, struggle awhile, and arrive breathless at the end within a bar or two of one another.

646 574 The senators streamed away to their quarters at Pangai to disrobe; the guests strolled home to doff their finery. The morning had been devoted to propriety; pleasure was now to have its turn. In half an hour not a black coat

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

was to be seen. Sacrifice had been made on the altar of 646
the god Civilisation: Parliament was now to be opened 574
after the custom of their despised ancestors. Groups formed wherever a tree-top cast a patch of shade. Strings of men, swinging their limbs with the glorious freedom of trouserless man, filed up and flung their burdens of pig and yam upon an ever-increasing heap, while a claque of aged men shouted approval. Roast-pig scents the hot air. A grave and melancholy *matabule* is counting pigs in a monotonous chant, and each successive decimal evokes

Portrait of King George Tubou.

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646 loud applause. In ten minutes the members of both
574 Houses will be pig-smeared to the elbows. Let them be happy in their own way to-day, for the morrow will bring debates, shoes, and the knife and fork.

646 At ten o'clock next morning H.M.S. Cordelia steamed through the hazy reef as the great wooden drum announced that the business of the country was to begin. The House had been cleared for action. On the daïs the throne had been replaced by the Speaker's chair; and a long table, at which sat four clerks of the Parliament, filled the place of the visitors' benches. Two sentries of the Guards and four policemen drawn up at the door saluted as we went in. The members of both Houses were in their places—Nobles
[645] on the right and Commons on the left of the chair. The
[634] Cabinet had a bench to themselves among the Nobles, and below them sat the governors of districts—sixty-eight members in all, counting myself. So long as I continued to hold the portfolio of *Fakahinohino* I had a seat *ex officio* as a member of the Upper House.

For twelve minutes not a word is spoken. We are
[164] waiting for the Speaker. When the delay has become unbearable a messenger is sent to him; for though Tungi had been in sight when we came in, he suffers so much from asthma that he has to rest to recover breath at every few yards of the road. Some moments later there is a movement behind the daïs-screen. Claud, Sergeant-at-Arms, clatters in and cries, "*Koe Sea!*" (The Chair!) We all rise. Tungi climbs the daïs panting, but with the deliberate air of a man who knows his business; for he held his office through two at least of Mr Baker's Parliaments, and is not in the least collar-shy like the rest of us. He

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is, moreover, held in awe by the Commons, for "Tungi 646
ne montre jamais le fond du sac," as one of the French
priests said of him. He is followed by Mr W——, the 646
Pontifex Maximus of Tonga, clad in decent black, and 793
wearing an expression of deprecating piety. He is to [465]
earn to-day his stipend as Royal Chaplain, an item that
has received the anxious atten- [142]
tion of the Cabinet, to whom [291]
a retrenchment of £100 a-year [302]
is of importance. He gives out [533]
a hymn, the member for Vavau,
who forms the choir, bellows the
tune, while the rest follow him
two octaves lower pianissimo.
The House shades its eyes with
its hand, while the prelate wrestles
in prayer and discreetly
withdraws. There is a pause.
Then Mataka, the chief clerk 646
(who, by the way, is still supposed
to be undergoing imprisonment
for flirting with the fair
Lobase), calls the roll. The new
members are now to take the
oath. The ceremony is imposing 646
until the turn of the two Roman Catholic members 795
arrives. They object to be sworn upon the Protestant 798
Bible, and a clerk runs in haste for a version of the Bible 779
translated into Tongan by the Roman Catholics. He
returns with a thick shiny-covered book, which the two
members kiss cheerfully. I examined it afterwards, and 646

The clerk of the Parliament.

646 found it to be a French and English dictionary. The oath taken contained the words, "I swear . . . that I will to the utmost of my power discharge my duty as a member of the Legislative Assembly"—a phrase that we had cause to remember, since a majority of the Commons held that to discharge their duty as representatives meant opposition to the Government, whether right or wrong, upon every question submitted to them.

We were anxious not to afford the Vavau contingent an opportunity for making an attack upon the Government until we had had time to win the confidence of the other members, and we therefore proposed that the duty of drafting an Address in reply should be relegated to a Committee of six, selected from the Lords and Commons
645 in equal numbers. As scarcely three members in the
646 House knew what an Address in reply was, it was at once suggested by the nominated members that the Cabinet should stay to help them, while the rest of the House
[276] adjourned. With an air of intense relief the members trooped out to smoke *sulukas* in the shade. The Select Committee conversed in knots, leaving the draft to Tukuaho and myself. My draft was couched in terms of excessive politeness, and read a little flat and colourless,—a defect due as much to my ignorance of the higher forms of the language as to my anxiety not to introduce controversial matter. It was handed to Tukuaho as a skeleton to work upon, and it came forth glorified, bristling with expressions of gratitude of which I had never dreamed.
646 It was unanimously adopted by the Committee. The Sergeant-at-Arms recalled the House by shouting to the members from the doorstep. The Address was read. At

the words, "We feel confident that God will avert religious 646
strife, for He is the God of peace," I saw a cynical smile
curl the lips of Hoho the Romanist, who has a stronger
sense of humour than the others who are in the secret of
the Mission politics.

The Address had been voted, and we were congratulating 634
ourselves that the Vavau party had decided to reserve 646
their grievances for a more fitting opportunity, when we
discovered Manase, the Governor of Vavau, upon his feet,
wearing his usual expression of apostolic saintliness, but
labouring under some mental excitement. We had not
expected an attack from this quarter, for it had doubtless
been conveyed to Manase that there was a proposal before
the Cabinet to impeach him for disaffection. Instigated
by Mr W——, the disappointed schoolmaster, he rushes
blindly on his doom. "The Address is good," he says,
"with one exception. Why was a schoolmaster appointed
without consulting the wishes of Vavau?" Three 645
Cabinet Ministers rise at once. "Is it becoming," asks 646
the Auditor-General, "in a governor appointed by the 634
king to question his Majesty's action?" The House
murmurs. The unfortunate Manase would explain; but
the House wants no explanation, and he has to sit down,
crushed and humbled. Tukuaho whispers to me that it 645
is a good opportunity to reassure the House as to the 646
truth of a rumour that Mr H——, the College master 875
appointed by the Government, is a *failautohi* and not a
faiako. As the words both mean "school-teacher," it
seems to my untutored ear to be a distinction without
a difference, and I fail to grasp the full significance
of the rumour. In the whispered explanation that

645 follows it is borne in upon me that *faiako* has the
646 restrictive meaning of professor, and that Mr H——'s
875 enemies have put it abroad that he is a mere schoolmaster and no professor. I am able to reassure the House on this point with a clear conscience, on the authority of no less a personage than the Minister of Education of New Zealand.

646 By the time the Address had been despatched to the king by the hands of the chief clerk the wooden drum had begun to beat. Aged Nobles, whose eyes had been getting dim, and whose heads had fallen forwards, started and straightway threw off twenty years of their burden of life. The whole House fixed its gaze upon the clock. It was the dinner-hour, and the Speaker, with an indulgent smile, adjourned the House. A stream of black-coated legislators hobbled to a long white building a few yards away, and besieged the doors as if it were the pit entrance to a theatre. A bolt was drawn, and both Houses surged inwards. There were two long tables, each accommodating forty guests,—the one reserved for the Lords, and
646 the other for the Commons. The ministering damsels
264 were ordered to appear in a white uniform, without lace
291 or other ornaments. They had treated the order with the scorn it deserved. The ox-eyed Sau, breathing propriety with every sigh, was dressed in white satin trimmed with furniture lace, and had a crimson sash tied coquettishly round her waist; the demure Vika—demure only in the presence of her elders—had broken out in bugles of jet and a cincture of native cloth. The trader who supplied her striped *vala* would be sold out of that pattern on the morrow, for the fashion in Tonga is set by the pretty girls.

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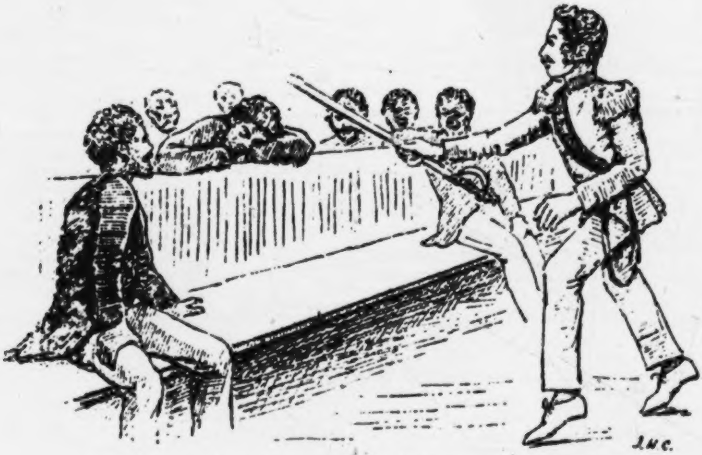
One of the elect.

646 264 girls. When not languidly handing plates these damsels whispered and giggled in the windows, and hid their blushes on each other's glistening shoulders.

The morning sitting has induced a remarkable appetite.
The dinner on the first day numbered some seventeen
courses of solid viands, yet scarce a plate goes away with
enough upon it to indicate its contents. It is right to
say, however, that this scale of entertainment is not maintained throughout the session. As the days went on,
course after course fell away as the supplies in the store-
565 house diminished. The Lords are allowed a glass of sherry
273 and a glass of beer each, the Cabinet Ministers half a
645 tumbler of rum in addition; the Commons have to content
themselves with beer only. At last the Chaplain hammers
on the table with his knife-handle and says grace, and
the places of the legislators are taken by as many of the
Civil servants as can muster trousers and shoes. There
follows a fatal half hour, during which the fell effects of
646 such a dinner become apparent. When the bell rings
members sink into their places, glare determinedly at the
ceiling for a few moments, and lapse into unconsciousness.
The Sergeant-at-Arms, having drunk neither *ele* nor *lamu*,
rises and creeps stealthily towards the Lords. Such of
the members as still retain consciousness crane their necks
in breathless excitement. He is stalking Havea, Lord of
Haapai. Catlike he creeps on, gold-mounted scabbard in
hand, poises the weapon over the bowed head, and—Havea
starts up with an exclamation that I could translate
exactly, though I never heard it before. The House indulges in a well-bred titter. Meanwhile the clerks are
looking round the House, and making frequent entries in

a book. It is the book of the Sleeping. I have since heard Hoho, the Roman Catholic member, declare that the insertion of his name was a malicious libel. His *lotu*, he said, obliged him to pray at noon, and to pray he had to close his eyes. The clerk retorted that if he could not begin his prayers with a hymn, as is the usage of any respectable sect, his name must be recorded in the book. After-experience taught us that the morning was more suitable for Committees, and the afternoon for third readings, for during a third reading even the Sergeant-at-Arms would close his eyes. The monotonous reading of the Premier has long ago lulled the most active of the Opposition to sleep. When the voice becomes silent the Speaker thunders out the question, eyelids tremble open, and hands go up. "Those who are against the motion will hold up their hands," but the eyelids have all closed again, and the



"The Sergeant-at-Arms creeps stealthily towards the Lords."

646 bill defining the procedure of the courts becomes law. It is high time to adjourn.

The second day brought a storm from an unexpected quarter. This bolt from the blue came from the Commons, who are possessed with a burning zeal for debate, and have not had time to appreciate the limits of their duties. The chief business of the session being to enact a complete code, and to sweep away all former enactments, time is valuable, and the Premier expresses the hope that the House will not waste it in opposing such parts of the code as are transcribed from the Constitution, and are neces-
642 sary only for completeness. "The king is supreme over
643 all the chiefs and people, but his Ministers are alone
646 responsible for good government." Rises Hoho, representative of a Roman Catholic constituency, lately a leading schoolmaster and a light of intellect and culture, who resigned his school in order to qualify as a representative of the people. Tall, attenuated, and Mephistophelian, he looks more like a Spaniard than a Tongan. With palms turned outwards and uplifted shoulders, he has even caught the Latin gestures. "Why," he asks, "should the king be supreme, and why should his Ministers be responsible?" He for one can never vote for such a measure. The House snorts impatiently. The Premier points out that the words are transcribed from the Constitution, and that Hoho should reserve his steel. Hoho retorts that he resigned his post as schoolmaster to make himself eligible for election; that he has taken a solemn oath to do his duty to the best of his ability; and that if he did not oppose this measure he would not be doing his duty. At this all the members with

a reputation for intelligence start up, slap their chests, 642
and quote the terms of their oath. The Sergeant-at-Arms 643
rages up and down, calling upon all but Wiliame to sit 646
down. William is understood to say that he respects 642
the terms of his oath, but defers to the wisdom of the 646
Nobles. Hoho springs to his feet with a sense of having 565
the whole Catholic hierarchy at his back, and passionately 576
exclaims that if comparisons are to be made between
the two sides of the House, he thinks *he* knows on
which side wisdom will be found. There is a solemn
hush. Aged noblemen gasp and make a mute appeal
to the Speaker, who rises in agitation. "Never in the
whole course of his parliamentary experience had such
a terrible insult been offered to the chiefs of the land.
That a commoner, a vile commoner, who after all was
only there to listen to the words of his superiors, should
have so dared to throw decency to the winds, was unknown
in the history of their country. But, thank
heaven, he was there to deal with such cases." Then
waving his arm in the direction of the jail he continued,
"Without stand the dark cells, within the Sergeant-at-Arms.
To the cells with the low-born!"

The oration lasted many minutes, during which the 646
low-born sat with bowed head until the storm should 565
pass over him. The Nobles thanked the Speaker with
their eyes; there was an awkward pause. The Premier, [642]
who had been looking very uncomfortable during this
exposition of the liberty of speech about which the
Government organ had been singing so joyously of late,
filled the breach by reading the next section. But it
was evident that another storm was brewing, for when

646 the question was put not one of the Commons would
565 vote. A message was accordingly conveyed to the Speaker from the Treasury bench that he should adjourn the House. As the author of the mischief stalked out a group at the door cried derisively, "Go thou with
[648 649] the priest to France." In the evening poor Tukuaho received an indignant protest from the resident priest, hinting that the consequences would be serious for Tonga if any rumour of this national insult should reach the ears of the Government of the great Republic.

646 A mild reproof must have been conveyed to Tungi
565 before the morning sitting, for he rises after prayers to
576 apologise to the Commons for the strength of his language over-night. They look pleased. He goes on to remind them of the severe provocation he had received, and as the full magnitude of the insult is borne in upon him, he lets fly again, and gives the Commons a more furious lashing than in the speech for which he rose to apologise. The Ministers cover their faces, and the Commons look
646 sulky. The Premier implores the House to regard the
565 incident as closed, and to believe that they have the fullest liberty of speech—in short, not to mind what his father says. After a long silence Vili Tai, member for Nukualofa, rises. His heart is subdued by fear: in spite of his oath he no longer dares to speak. The Commons sadly shake their heads.

646 Some unwritten standing orders appear to have survived from Mr Baker's last Parliament three years ago. Kubu is an authority upon these, for he then held the influential post of Sergeant-at-Arms, now occupied by his brother Claude. When the House goes into Committee

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after the second reading, the Speaker vacates the chair and takes part in the debate as an ordinary member of the Upper House. But the most important of these rules is that, until the House is in Committee, no one but a Cabinet Minister may speak more than once upon a measure. In Committee no restriction is exercised but that very necessary one of preventing more than one member from speaking at a time. The Sergeant-at-Arms is the arbiter between rival claimants to be heard; for the gold-hilted sword is no idle tapper of sleepy heads, —it imperiously indicates the favoured member who may address the House. In Tonga one does not catch the Speaker's eye—one catches the Sergeant's sword.

Feeling certain that the Commons, however sulky, will not be able to resist the temptation of the freedom of debate permitted in Committee, I move the election of a Chairman of Committees. Four candidates, whom etiquette requires to be reluctant, are put forward, and Ata, Lord of Hihifo is elected. As I expected, the Commons immediately forget their wounded pride in the excitement of passionate debate. At the conclusion of each speech half a dozen members are discovered standing and talking at once, while the rest of the House calls "Order." Each speaker is trying to impress the Sergeant-at-Arms with his claim to be first heard. That officer strides into the middle of the floor and points his dictatorial sword at the member who has found favour. The others perforce sit down till their turn comes. These standing orders were as useful to the Government as a closure. Often when time was short, and we were sure of the support of a majority, we relentlessly refused

646 to move that the Speaker do vacate the chair, and were deaf to the entreaties of members who had discharged one wordy flood and longed for a Committee of the House to reopen the sluice-gates of their eloquence.

646 The best speakers in the House were Manase (not the 537 Governor of that name) and Sovea of Vavau. The former was nervous, impulsive, and given to the display of rhetorical fireworks; the latter, a cool keen debater, with a logical mind and an inconvenient habit of asking 646 questions. He had served through the last Parliament, and was credited with knowing all the weak spots in the Government armour. In person he was an insignificant little man, disfigured by bad teeth. He sat by himself at the extreme end of the House, and a compact body of members from Vavau and Haapai, his admirers, separated him from the rest of the Commons. He proved to be a far more dangerous opponent than the generous 646 Manase, whom we soon won over to our cause. The 578 chief grievance of the Vavau contingent was the pre-645 dominance of Tongatabu chiefs in the Cabinet, and the favour which the present Cabinet were alleged to show 563 to the Wesleyans. Their discontent had been fostered by the traders of Vavau, who, in the hope of effecting 439 a reduction in the Customs tariff, had persuaded them 651 that the Government was really in the hands, not of Tongans, but of C—— and myself, and that if there were no Customs the prices of all important articles would be lowered. The king had announced that he did not wish any revision of the Constitution to be discussed this session. Their mouths were therefore closed in respect of their principal grievance, and they were

compelled to reserve their main attack for the discussion 646
of the tariff. The four Wesleyan members were a trial 578
to us. They seemed to believe that they had a monopoly 645
of intelligence as well as of independence of character. 646
This was probably a natural effect of exile for conscience' 795
sake and the triumph of the cause for which they suffered. The worst of these was Josaia, the head tutor at the Wesleyan College. Teaching had become so much a habit with him, that he spoke only to pour upon the House the stores of his cultured mind. The House was not grateful, and but for the standing order already alluded to, I fear that Josaia would have been held to deserve the fate of Socrates, and for the same reason.
Wiliame Maealiuaki was less didactic and more sensible, 646
but he had long been in the hands of the trading community, and had a mission to get the Customs tariff reduced. In other respects he was a supporter of the Government. Vili Tai was cursed with a sensitive conscience, which took him by the throat whenever he was going to vote in accordance with his better judgment,—at least that is what he told us. He has an ominously long upper lip, and looks altogether like a retired Nonconformist grocer of truculent respectability. Upon Vili Tai's conscience assaults of reason beat in impotence. We could only beg him earnestly to make a second and more careful diagnosis of his symptoms before finally committing himself to the cause of the Opposition.

The chapter relating to the Executive was passed with- 646
out serious opposition. "The Premier shall provide ac- [645]
commodation for the members of the Legislative Assembly," &c. Tuuhetoka rises with troubled face. "It

646 is a good law, but this year it was not obeyed. When
I came to Haapai on my way hither I wandered hungry
up and down the beach, and slept on the cold sands, and
——(laughter). There is nothing to laugh at. I was
——" He got no further. The Speaker waved his
hand, the gold-hilted sword was raised, and he sat down
and poured the rest of his story into the sympathetic
ear of the member next to him.

Tukuaho must have got through a great deal of work
in propitiating the Opposition over the kava-bowl at night,
for, on the whole, there was great good sense and intelligence
shown throughout the debates of the first few days.
646 The idea of civil procedure was, it is true, rather hard
671 to convey to their understanding. Hitherto all injuries,
whether malicious or accidental, were treated as criminal
[685] offences. There was also a haziness regarding the definition
of larceny; for the Tongan magistrates had been
unaccustomed to distinguish between the taking of property
dishonestly, and property removed by a person who
honestly believes that it lawfully belongs to him. My
draft Code, after the Indian Penal Code, upon which it
was founded, was interspersed with frequent illustrations
of the law in operation, and these illustrations had an
unfortunate tendency to evoke personal reminiscences,
so that the House wandered away into the bypaths of
anecdote, and much precious time was wasted. The errors
in translation from my draft were not very numerous, for
Tukuaho professed to have asked me the meaning of all
the passages that were not absolutely clear to him when
[695] he revised my draft. A somewhat remarkable provision
was, however, nearly enacted in respect of Quakers or

other persons who could not properly be sworn when 646
called as witnesses. I knew of no word that signified 671
"affirmation" as distinguished from oath (*fuakava*). I 695
endeavoured to explain to Tukuaho that the word required had a meaning akin to oath but fell short of it. After mature thought he declared that *talatukii* had the exact meaning required. *Talatukii* was accordingly printed in the draft. An expression of surprise and inquiry crossed the faces of the more intelligent of the Commons, and Sovea rose to inquire from the *fakahinohino* why Quakers should be permitted to *talatukii* in a court of law, and who they were to do it to. On more exact inquiry, I learned that the word *talatukii* means to curse—to use imprecations so deadly and horrible, that the person against whom they were directed usually died from the effect; and this was the conduct prescribed by my Code for Quakers in the witness-box!

In Titipu, if Mr Gilbert is to be taken seriously, flirting 646
is punishable with death; in Tonga the penalty is penal 836
servitude. Whether the severity of the punishment or 625
the frailty of human nature is to blame for the prevalence 684
of this crime I know not, but whatever be the cause, the police are so actively engaged in hunting down delinquents that they have neither time nor inclination to attend to burglaries, thefts, or other less interesting offences. Once before I had tried to reform the practice in this respect, by inserting in the instructions to the police an injunction to leave prosecutions of this nature to the injured parties. The Cabinet agreed with me, but, as I have already related, a deputation of policemen, headed by the grey-headed Inspector, subsequently waited upon the

646 Premier to implore him to reflect before committing him-
836 self to an innovation that would not only destroy the
625 traditions of the "Force," but would also without doubt
684 call down upon his country the divine wrath. At
Tukuaho's desire I had consented to shelve the question
until the meeting of Parliament, lest ill-conditioned per-
646 sons might misrepresent our motives to the king. I was
671 therefore prepared for opposition, but having the support
836 of the Cabinet, I was determined to relieve the police
684 625 of this part of their duties, and to sacrifice the prison
labourers and the revenue in fines with which these pro-
secutions annually provided the Government. The pro-
posal evoked a passionate debate. Vili Tai opposed the
measure in a burst of fiery oratory. He fully believed
that it may suit Britain or France to regard flirting as an
offence against the individual, but in Tonga, at least, it
646 is a crime against the State. For have not the Tongans
671 solemnly dedicated their country to God? Pointing to the
836 royal arms blazoned above the daïs, he cried, "What other
684 nation has the right to that motto, 'God and Tonga are
776 my inheritance'? If you quote what is done in Bilitania,
I will quote you the motto of the nation." There was a
murmur of applause. It was in vain to point out that a
restriction of the functions of the police is not in itself
likely to call down the divine wrath. The reservoir of
Tongan eloquence had burst its banks, and cold common-
sense could never stem the flood. Another enthusiast
fixed a rapt and inspired gaze on the ceiling, and de-
manded whether the House would dare to break its
faith with the Almighty. "It may be true that under
our present laws our country is becoming depopulated,

but better we should perish from the face of the earth 646
than break our solemn covenant with God." William 671
Maealiuaki, who generally talks sense, reminds the 836 684
House that thirteen years ago a similar measure was 776
passed, and that within three months an epidemic [753]
attacked the people, but when the measure was repealed
the sickness abated. He only mentions the fact
without drawing any deduction, except that there is
room for belief that the Almighty *does* expect higher
things from Tonga than from other countries. A personal [589]
element is imported by one of the Nobles, who remarks
that the law would be entirely unnecessary if it were
not for the professional bachelors, such as Moengangongo,
Kubu's brother, and Matealona, and half-a-dozen
others who sat among them. These unfortunates, having
no defence ready to meet this unprovoked attack, look
foolish. A fortnight after the session Moengangongo
espoused the ox-eyed waitress Sau, but whether in consequence
of this public attack, or the young lady's charming
poses in the windows of the dining-room, has not as yet
transpired. Forced against our will to play the unwelcome 646
part of "devil's advocate," we at last applied the 671
closure, and the votes were taken. Two of the Ministry, 836 684
Sateki and Kubu, voted against us. I was about to explain [645]
to Kubu that one of the principles of party government
was that the members of the Cabinet should act in
concert, and that, as he had promised to vote for this
measure, his attitude required explanation; but he forestalled
me by saying that during the debate his *konisienisi*
(conscience) had met him face to face, and that therefore
the terms of his oath compelled him to desert his

646 party. The Government carried the motion by a bare
671 majority of two. That evening Mataka read it to the
836 king, sitting at the old man's feet. When the fateful
684 words were reached Tubou expressed his disapproval, and
declined to sign until it had been taken back to the House
for further discussion. The news leaked out, and at the
[643] next division the Ministers were left alone. A Tongan
has no convictions that are not shared by his king.

646 These debates were useful to us, for they enabled us to
sift the dispositions of the members, and to gauge our
chances of overcoming opposition in the more important
646 debate on the Customs. As soon as our position seemed
651 sufficiently secure, we determined to skip the intermediate
439 part of the Code, and at once attack the chapter dealing
with the tariff. The announcement was made without
warning, so that we might hear the views of the members
[434] themselves without prompting from the Europeans. I
told them that the Customs at present produced a revenue
of about £6000 a-year, which we could not afford to do
without unless the expenditure was considerably reduced;
but that before proceeding further with the Code, we
must know the views of the House regarding the continuance of the *tute*, as they called the collection of Customs dues. If they refused to raise revenue by this
means, it would be a waste of time to pass an elaborate
Customs law. There was some whispering amongst the
Commons, and William rose to ask a question. If the
Customs were abolished, what would happen? To this I
replied that the revenue must be raised by increased
direct taxation, or by a reduction of the expenditure by
one-third. Vili Tai wished to know whether it was

true, as they had heard, that the tariff was heavier in 646 Tonga than in other countries, and that the most prosperous 651 countries owed their success to there being no 439 Customs at all? I had a list of the *ad valorem* tariffs showing that Tonga, with a duty of 10 per cent, levied a lighter tax than New Zealand, Canada, Queensland, or even Fiji. Then a member from Vavau rose to put the all-important question whether, in the event of the abolition of the Customs dues, the prices of calico and kerosene would be lowered by the storekeepers, as the white men had promised? At this stage the Speaker joined in the debate. He remembered the prices of such things before there ever was a tariff, and he could assure the House that the prices were not a farthing lower then. He could tell them what the effect would be. The traders' profits would be increased, but the Tongans would not be one whit the better for it. When the question was put, the House was unanimous in voting for a continuance of the duties, provided that the laws relating to Customs were translated so as to be intelligible to them. This proviso enabled us to complete our victory. We asked the House 646 to nominate a committee of pundits to assist the Government in translating the mercantile laws, knowing full well that we should thus convert our adversaries into champions of a bill which they had themselves helped to draft. William, Filimone, and Manase of Vavau were obviously flattered at being singled out as the Government nominees for such a work. For the next fortnight we met nightly at seven o'clock, and adjourned at two in the morning, after submitting each clause of the law to the most careful system of polishing by the entire com-

646 mittee. Every half-hour during the sitting four convicts entered with a full bowl of kava and retired with an empty one, until the air was so charged with tobacco-smoke that they were scarcely discernible. Hearing the disputes over the meaning of every phrase and idiom, I learned more Tongan during that fortnight than during all the rest of the time I spent in the country.

646 The Government was pledged to the Chamber of Com-
651 merce to introduce certain reductions in the tariff which
439 provided some rather vexatious duties on articles little
used. As soon as the debate was opened Hoho rose.
He for one fully approved of the principle of collecting
revenue by Customs dues, but he thought it became the
Government to be magnanimous, and not to press for
duties on the necessaries of life, as, for instance, red
wines. (Laughter, and a voice, "Drinking liquor is forbidden.")
Hoho stopped, disconcerted, and the Minister
of Police pointed an accusatory finger at him. "This
man," he said, "is speaking the words of the priests.
Who drinks red wine but the priests? And yet he has
sworn to follow the dictates of his own conscience." Not
only did the House decline to lower the duty on claret,
but they showed a stubborn disinclination to listen to any
of the Government proposals for reduction. In vain we
told them that we were prepared to sacrifice revenue to
646 the extent of £400 a-year. The Europeans had overdone
651 their part in declaiming against the Customs, and the
439 natives, sore at having been made the victims of defective
563 arithmetic, were disinclined to vote for any proposal that
might appear to be concession to the agitation. The
Government was beaten on a division, and was regarded

by Parliament as being in league with the traders, and by 646
the traders as being guilty of the blackest duplicity. The 651
Chamber of Commerce, indeed, with its dying breath demanded 439
from me why the Government, so ignominiously 563
beaten on so vital a point as the import duty on kerosene,
had not at once tendered their resignation.

The shipping laws were more intelligible to the House. 646
Many of them, as the owners or masters of small craft, 671
had had a bitter experience of the law regarding coasting 505
licences, and a strong party were in favour of exempting
craft owned by Tongans and used only as yachts from
the coasting dues paid by steamers and vessels plying
for hire. But the majority were against enacting anything
that might be cast up against them as one-sided
legislation.

Hansard, meanwhile, was growing to unmanageable 646
dimensions. The clerks took down every speech in 212
shorthand, and sat up till daylight night after night
transcribing their notes. Not the smallest spoken word
passed unrecorded. It was time for a brief holiday, for 646
the sick-list was heavy; and many noblemen who could
take the air in native attire could not attend the House
until their feet had sufficiently recovered to encounter
again the penalties attaching to boots. The Speaker announced 646
a three days' holiday, and added that by special 759
arrangement the Government medical officer would prescribe
gratis for all members in need of medical treatment.
During the morning a dense crowd of legislators
besieged the dispensary. Within was the newly arrived
doctor, heated and gesticulating, trying to drive back the
mob of senators, who were all striving to describe in

646 759 dumb-show the peculiar symptoms of stomach-ache from generous living.

646 421 423 The debate upon the land question, scarcely less important than the Customs, opened inauspiciously. Manase, the orator, made a set speech upon the history of the land laws of the country, incidentally alluding to the magnanimity of the king. The House seems to be moved—perhaps by his eloquence. There is a long and ominous silence. Then Niukabu, a noble of Vavau with a grey moustache, rises to order. He has with difficulty contained himself, he says, during the last indecent speech. What does Manase think? Have the lords of Hahavea no feelings? Do they like to be reminded of the past? The three lords of Hahavea glare responsive at the ceiling. I ask Kubu my neighbour what Manase has said to hurt their feelings. He whispers that when the king conquered them in the last war of 1853, contrary to Tongan custom, he restored their lands to them, and to speak of the king's magnanimity recalls unpleasant memories. I mentally resolve not to make even the most distant allusion to Tongan history. In spite, however, of the temporary gloom thrown over us by this incident, our pet land scheme was passed with but slight alteration. In future a taxpayer who refused to pay his taxes was to lose his land.

646 576 I was absent from the second reading of the Minor Offences Bill. When I came in the Premier, who is not often moved to express himself strongly, was rating the House in unmeasured terms. He had not believed, he said, that the Legislative Council of Tonga could so far forget its dignity as to indulge in such a disgraceful scene. What would be said of Tonga if such a thing were known

outside the walls of that House? What respect for Tonga 646
could any of the civilised nations retain if they heard of 576
this disgrace? The Commons seemed quite overcome with a sense of their guilt. "What has happened?" I whispered to Kubu. "A disgraceful thing." "But what?" "A shameful thing. When Osaiase Puaka [Osaias Hogg] was speaking, some of the Representatives of the People pretended to cough, and shuffled their feet." The House had been lashed by the Speaker before his son took them in hand, and Kubu described his remarks as "very heavy." He spoke to me afterwards about it. "I was glad," he said, "that you were not there to see this shameful thing; if the miscreants had not been so many, I would have committed them all to the dark cells. I suppose if such a thing were to happen in the Parliament of Bilitania, the delinquents would go to prison?" "Ye-e-s," I answered. "But such a thing never has happened?" "Oh, no; though I have heard of it happening in the French Parliament," I said, and thought of the House during one of Mr Conybeare's speeches. But this was before Messrs Carson and Fisher had taken their seats.

A gloom fell over the House during the debate on the 646
land laws. For some days Havea, a lord of Haapai, had 753
been absent from his seat. At last it is whispered that his illness is unnameable—that leprosy, the scourge of the Pacific, has seized upon him. It makes one thoughtful to remember that until a week ago we were sitting and eating with a leper; but the consternation in the faces of my
colleagues is due to other causes. For by Tongan etiquette 753
it is more than questionable taste to speak of the illness 576
of a chief; it is forbidden in polite society to mention 565

753 leprosy at all; but to describe a *chief* as a leper is too
576 gross an offence to be conceivable. But the thing has to
[565] be done somehow, and the Premier nobly fills the breach. They had all heard, he said, about their dear friend and colleague, and they all mourned when they heard. He felt sure that he expressed the sentiments of them all when he said that Havea's friends were pining for him at home, and therefore it was but right that they should cheerfully sacrifice their own wishes and relieve the longing of his friends by allowing him to return to them. At the same time it was right to say that the doctor had pronounced the report about Havea to be not entirely true—in short, that the proximity of Havea was not likely to render it advisable that his companions should return to *their* friends. But Tuuhetoka was less guarded, being of a coarser fibre than his chief. "I am in favour," he said, "of gratifying the longing of Havea's friends to see his face. Nay, more: to the westward are delightful little islands, which I know Havea is longing to visit, where his every wish may be gratified, and where—well—where the wind would blow so nicely from us to him that Havea would be more than happy." I improved the opportunity by urging the necessity of isolating infected persons to check the alarming increase in the disease. The Commons watched me with the uneasy interest felt by the crowd at a dangerous tight-rope performance without a net underneath. I soon floundered helplessly, and before I was aware of it I uttered the fatal word leprosy (*kilia*). The House shuddered, and I was covered with shame. To effect a diversion, I described the labours of Father Damien at Molokai. At the adjournment Jesuit Hoho button-

holed me, and said, "I come to thank you for your words 753
about the priest Tamiene. I shall report your words to 576
my priest and the bishop, who will be much gratified."

There was a fierce battle over the Taxes Bill. It was 646
in vain for us to explain that the abolition of interest on 651
arrears was a large concession, and that the land-tax
of 9 dollars was no higher than the old poll-tax, since
the education rate had been abolished. It was in vain
that we promised that as soon as the country was out of
debt we would consider a proposal of reduction. The
majority had expected in a vague way that Parliament
would reduce the individual taxes from £2 to £1 a man;
and, had the country been out of debt, we should have been
ready enough to recognise that their request was reasonable,—for
direct taxation, vexatious to a Tongan as to a
white man, is only defensible when it is light. But the [645]
Government knew that any reduction would mean a [652]
deficit in their Budget, unless Parliament would consent
to abolish some half of the offices of the cumbrous Civil
Service, and they declared their intention of resigning in
a body if they were beaten. Then the aged Niukabu rose
sobbing, and cried aloud, imploring the Premier not to act
fakapapalagi (in white man's fashion). "We are all Tongans,
not white men, therefore pity us and reduce our
taxes." But the Ministry were obdurate, and Niukabu's
sobs were drowned by those who dreaded a change of
Ministry worse than taxes.

I had now been eleven months in Tonga, the greater 645
part of my Code had become law, and the remainder was
certain to be passed without alteration: the Ministry had
the confidence of Parliament, and there was a sufficient

645 balance in the Treasury to meet all immediate liabilities,
after paying off two instalments of the debt to Civil servants
for arrears of pay. My work was done: there remained
only the printing of the Code, and this I was to
superintend in Auckland. For the last five weeks I had
been working the House at high pressure, for they were
not accustomed to sit for six successive days in the week.
It was time to leave them to finish the session after their
own fashion. The last days before the arrival of the
645 steamer were spent in leave-taking. The Privy Council
643 met in order that I might take a formal leave of the king.
I was spared any speech-making. The old man said a
few words full of quiet dignity and regret that pleased
me more than any elaborate and effusive thanks would
have done. Later in the day a formal letter of thanks,
signed in his tremulous handwriting, was brought to me.
645 On the day of the steamer's arrival a message was conveyed
to me that my presence in the House was not
desired. During the course of the morning Nuku, now
converted into an ardent supporter of the present Ministry,
by his threatened impeachment, and by a term of
imprisonment for a civil offence, appeared in correct parliamentary
attire, and presented me with an address of
thanks. He added a message that the House was waiting
645 to receive me. I went first to say farewell to the king,
643 for whom I, in common with every one who knew him
well, felt a strong respect and affection. There was in this
good-bye an added sadness, in that we both knew that we
should never meet again. "May God guard you!" he
said, as we shook hands. "Who knows whether we shall
meet again, *tama!* but I think not, for my time is near."

As I passed the gates he was still standing in the sun 645
looking after me. I never saw him again, for eighteen 643
months later he was carried to the Malaekula, full of days and honour, wanting but four years to complete a century of life.

In the House every member was in his place. As soon 645
as I had taken my seat Tungi left the chair and came to 646
the table. He had, he said, been deputed by the House 431
to tender to me the thanks of the chiefs and people of Tonga, and to ask me to accept from them a memento of my sojourn among them. At the end of his speech he put a heavy bag into my hands. In my reply I explained that the rules of my service forbade me to accept any present from them, and that for doing no more than was required of him no man was entitled to reward. Instead of so valuable a present, I begged them to give me something of little value to remind me of them when I was far away,—whose value should lie in the associations that clung to it instead of in its intrinsic worth; for I should prize such a present even more highly, in that it would not carry with it the discharge of an obligation. I afterwards found that, despite my representations, they had asked the High Commissioner to present me on their behalf with a beautiful service of plate, a gift that I shall always prize the more that it was sent after I had left them, and any temporary heat of enthusiasm had had time to flame out, leaving a steady warmth of feeling behind it.

As I spoke of the vicissitudes of life that throw men 645
into close companionship for a common work, and then 646
separates them, perhaps for ever, I saw that they as well

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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645 646 as I were overcome with emotion. It was hard to part with men who had been such staunch comrades in a hard fight, knowing that in the ordinary course of the world I should never see them again.

The king's band had meanwhile assembled outside the House, struck up a march as we came out, and I found myself the centre of a procession led by the band, and followed by all the members of Parliament. The third whistle had long sounded, and the steamer began to cast off as I said my last good-bye. The propeller churned the sleepy water into foam, we glided seawards, and in a few moments the faces became indistinct, and faded into a confusion of waving draperies,—fainter and fainter, till the low shore grew grey and woolly, merged into a cloud-bank, and disappeared. We were alone in the Pacific, bound for the great world, and all the brief turmoil of Tonga and its turgid politics slid into a pleasant memory as unreal as the clouds that hung over the spot on the horizon where it had vanished.

291

POSTSCRIPT.

MANY things happen in three years. My narrative should 114
properly have ended where I have left it; but, since circumstances
have combined to defer its publication, I cannot pass
over all that has happened since 1891. I left Tonga clear 643
of her embarrassments, with a strong popular Government, and 645
every promise of prosperity. In 1894 she is divided in her
councils, suspicious of her rulers, and financially unsound.
Her destiny depended upon the wisdom of the king's advisers.
It was too much to hope that, without any European assistance,
a native Government could steer clear of difficulties;
but I hoped, at least, that the lessons of economy they had
learnt so painfully would ensure the native Cabinet against
living beyond their means. When I left, Mr Moss was appointed
clerk to the Premier, and for a time all went well. In [652]
December 1891 there was a balance of £8000 in the treasury,
after all debts had been discharged. Then came a series of
disasters. Mr Moss died, and there was keen competition for
his vacant place. While they were still wrangling and intriguing, 643
the king was taken suddenly ill, and after only four
days' illness he died on February 18, 1893. He had alarmed
them so often with his sudden seizures that the blow came
upon the people almost unprepared. They had come to look
upon their king of ninety-six as immortal. Even the oldest of
them could not remember a time when George Tubou was not
a central figure in the country. All work came to an end. [461]
The cocoa-nuts lay unhusked upon the ground for months:

643 trade was at a standstill. The people went to their planta-
643 tions only to dig up and carry away food for the great funeral
764 feasts. Their only labour was the erection of the great tomb in
the Malackula (Red square). Contrary to general expectation,
643 the king's great-grandson, George Taufaahau, succeeded him
[645] without disturbance. This was in a great measure due to the
loyalty and good sense of Tukuaho, who might easily, had he
pleased, have divided the country into factions. The young
king of twenty ill repaid this devotion. For the first few
months, it is true, he followed his Premier's advice. But no
sooner did he begin to feel secure in his new position than he
[764] began to listen to advisers of another kind. The balance in
the treasury had melted away in the expenses of the funeral.
Under the most favourable circumstances, the country could
731 only recover under careful management. But before the people
[164] could return to work, an epidemic of measles, then prevalent in
New Zealand, broke out in Nukualofa. We all know the story
of the measles in Fiji,—how, in 1876, it swept away 40,000 out
of the population of 150,000. Measles, when it attacks the
Polynesians, is no longer the infantine malady we know of. It
[165] becomes a devastating plague. The Tongans, with the experi-
ence of Fiji in their memories, took, it is true, some precautions
against the after-effects of the disease; but, nevertheless, one-
twentieth of the population was carried off, and the remainder
669 was so demoralised that it was threatened with famine. The
measles gave the enemies of the Government the opportunity
they wanted. The infection must have been brought by a
steamer, and the Premier had been responsible for the granting
of pratique. It mattered not that the king had himself sanc-
tioned the hauling down of the yellow flag. An excuse was
wanted for dismissing him, and the king availed himself of it.
669 There was a *coup-d'état*. One morning the European officers
645 of Customs found sentries at their office doors. Tukuaho was
563 439 summarily dismissed without any assigned reason, Sateki ap-
651 pointed in his place, and an unemployed schoolmaster and a

fisherman appointed in the room of the two dismissed Euro- 669
pean officers. These, not content with their triumph, pro- 645
ceeded to audit the Customs' accounts, and declared that they 563
had discovered defalcations. The ex-collector of Customs im- 439
mediately brought an action for wrongful dismissal and slander 651
before the High Commissioner's Court, and, to the great dis- [694]
comfiture of a majority of the storekeepers (what Customs officer was ever loved ?), triumphantly cleared his character.

Since then things have gone from bad to worse. The people 651
are less than ever inclined to pay their taxes, now that the Government has no longer the strong arm of Tubou to support it.

I should be wiser if I said nothing about the future; for no 000
man ever yet succeeded in foretelling accurately the shifts and turns of political events. Yet even at the risk of hurting the feelings of my good friends in Tonga, I will state my belief in the hope that it may act as a warning. England does not want Tonga, nor New Zealand either, if she knew her own interests; and yet, even if there were none of those restless spirits that egg on the Governments of our half-populated colonies to extend their boundaries and responsibilities, Tonga must eventually fall under the flag of England or of Australasia. When this happens, it will be the fault of the Tongans themselves. If, instead of hysterical professions of patriotism, the Tongans would show the very moderately patriotic feelings that prompt other peoples to pay their taxes, Tonga might remain independent for generations; but with a weak Government and a divided people, how can a little State, hemmed in by powerful and growing neighbours, maintain her independence? We do not want Tonga, and yet we cannot allow any other great Power to take our place there. If Tonga must be taken, it is we who must take her; but though I am no "Little Englander," I have seen enough of our small possessions to know that the increased incentive to British trade that may result from the hoisting of a flag does not compensate for the weakness that a host of half bankrupt islands throws upon the Empire.

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A SKETCH OF
THE HISTORY OF TONGA

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A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF TONGA.

I.

THE BORDERLAND OF MYTH.

SEEING that the past is the key to the present, I was at 121
some pains to learn the history of Tonga. This tiny [161]
kingdom of 20,000 people, inhabiting widely scattered [197]
islands, but speaking the same language, intermarrying, and obeying the same Government, boasted so complicated a social polity that its history, as an illustration of the growth of human institutions, is worthy of study for its own sake.

Until the introduction of Christianity swept away the 175
old beliefs and the institutions that depended on them, 643
there were in Tonga a spiritual and a temporal king. The former—the Tui Tonga—was lord of the soil, and enjoyed divine honours in virtue of his immortal origin; but he had an ever-diminishing share in the government, and he could take no part in any civil quarrel. His sole duty

175 was to absolve his subjects from the penalties of the
643 broken *tabu*, and to take the good things provided for
him without descending into the arena of political strife:
he was, in fact, the heaven-appointed sovereign in a
limited monarchy. The temporal king — the Tui Kanokubolu
— was the irresponsible sovereign of the people,
wielding absolute power of life and death over his subjects,
and was charged with the burden of the civil government
and the ordering of the tribute due to the gods and their
175 earthly representative, the Tui Tonga. None but the son
643 or grandson of a Tui Tonga could succeed to that dignity,
644 and his mother must be the daughter of the Tui Kanokubolu.
The temporal king was therefore always grandfather
or uncle of the Tui Tonga. Thus was the blood
kept pure.

[784] Although the Tui Tonga had no executive functions,
yet, as representative on earth of the immortals, he was
environed with the most rigid *tabu*. As it would be
inconvenient to multiply personages of such transcendent
rank, his wife was always taken from him after having
175 borne him two children. Her son was the heir, but her
644 daughter attained an even higher rank than her father
554 or brother. She was the Tui Tonga *fefine* (female Tui
Tonga), and even her father must bow to her for absolution
[582] of the *tabu*. No mortal might aspire to marriage
with her, but she might, without loss of dignity, have
children, and her daughter, if she had one, became the
[264] Tamaha — the highest earthly dignity. Neither her
[784] mother nor her grandfather, to whom all others paid
homage, could eat in her presence, nor neglect to per-

form the *moĕmoĕ*[1] by embracing her feet when they left 175 644
her. 554

These higher dignities, however, were a superstructure 264 784
built of the high estimation in which women were held 562
upon the fundamental idea of the divine affinity of the 643
Tui Tonga. The key to this belief is to be found in the 173
epic of Kau-ulu-fonua, from whose reign Tongan history 175
may be said to date.[2] The following is an unworthy 643
prose version of the story:—

In days of old the Tui Tonga was lord of all Tonga— 651
lord of the soil and of the men, and of the first-fruits;
and to no other chief was tribute paid but to the Tui
Tonga only. He received tribute from Haapai, from 651
Haafulu hao,[3] from Niuafo'ou,[4] from Niua-tobutabu,[5] from 648

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[1] A salute paid to the highest chief present. The person performing it 576
sits cross-legged before him, and bows the head until the forehead touches 565
the sole of the chief's foot, and then brushes the foot first with the palm
and then with the back of each hand. After touching a chief's person the 516
moĕmoĕ must be performed on pain of the liver swelling up and causing 753
death. As they are subject to scrofulous diseases, which they attribute
to an unwitting breach of the *tabu*, they used to perform the *moĕmoĕ* 164
frequently from motives of caution, without reference to any special *tabu*
they had broken.

[2] *Circa* 1535. There are fragmentary traditions of an earlier time when 264
the Tongans were in a lower social state, and cannibalism was practised.
A colony from Tonga founded a powerful clan in Mangaia (Cook Islands) 648
before the end of the fifteenth century, and it is probable that Pylstaart 167
was peopled from Tonga before the sixteenth century; but the names of
the kings before Kau-ulu-fonua are unreliable (*vide* Appendix I.), and the
traditions are too disconnected to be classed in their proper sequence.
The old men who stored up these traditions have passed away, and it
cannot now be hoped that the records of the dim past will ever be rescued
from oblivion.

[3] Vava'u.

[4] Boscawen Island.

[5] Keppel's Island.

173 Uvea,[1] from Futuna,[2] and even from Haamoa[3] and the far
175 islands to the North.[4] No man knows whence he derived
643 his power, unless indeed he was a descendant of the gods
648 themselves, of Tangaloa, of Ikuleo, and of Mau'i, but this
651 is hidden in the clouds of the ages. The people of
776 Tonga were so thick in the land that the commands of
203 the king were carried from one end of the land to the
other, the people lying on their mats and shouting the
203 message one to the other. It was the time of "*Fanogonogo
Tokoto*" (making proclamation when reclining).[5] And
173 seeing that all men were his slaves, and that the world
175 held none that did not do him homage, the Tui Tonga put
643
466 heavy burdens upon the people, and made them drag great
349 stones and set them up for a memorial of his greatness;
and the people neglected their yam plantations to do the
tasks set them by their king, so that there was a great
scarcity. And when they hungered they began to cry
out against their king, for men are ever hard to govern
when their bellies are empty.

173 Now there came a Tui Tonga, named Takalaua, who
175 was strong and harsh, and was greatly feared of the
643 people. Every day he sent out his fishermen from Mua
224 into the bay, and they would land on the islands to
arrange their nets. One day they landed on Ata, near
Euaiki, and when they sailed the two old people who

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[1] Wallis Island.
[2] Hoorn Island.
[3] Samoa.
[4] Gilbert Islands.

361
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161
[5] At the time of Tasman's visit in 1643 there seem to have been no villages. The land was highly cultivated and fenced, and each family lived in its own plantation. It is more probable that the *Fanogonogo Tokoto* referred to this than that the population was ever much greater than at present.

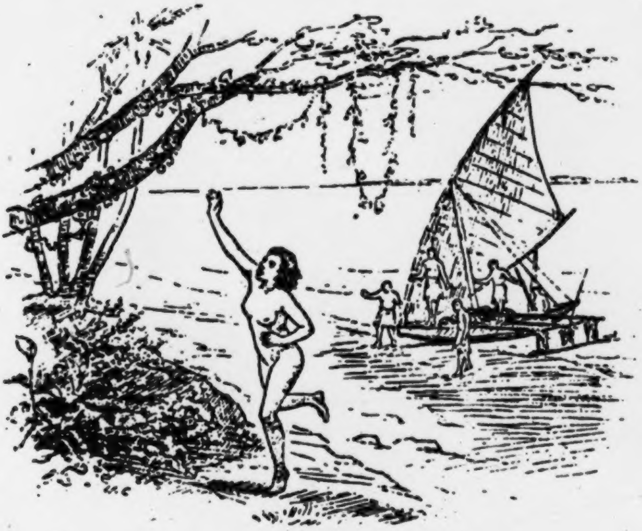
lived on the island went down to the landing-place to 173
see whether perchance they had left anything. They saw 175
a bunch of cocoa-nuts and ran to pick it up, and when 643
they reached the spot they saw lying near it the body of a little new-born child, but the head was like the head of a dove. The old woman took it up gently, and found that it still breathed. She had no children, and she begged her husband to let her adopt it and bring it up as her own; and she took it home and reared it in secret. And as the girl grew up she lost the dove's head, and grew into the fairest woman that was ever born into the world. So fair was she that her foster-parents greatly feared lest some man should see her and take her from them; and they taught her to hide always in the cover of the trees, and to look well abroad before she ventured into the sea to bathe, for great monsters floated on the sea, who, if they saw her, would swallow her up. But the days passed and she saw no one, for Ata was remote from the ways of men, and the fishermen knew it for a barren spot.

Now there came a day when the Tui Tonga sent his fishermen, bidding them return with fish, for he hungered for them. But the chief of the fishermen hesitated, saying that the weather was too stormy for their nets, whereat the Tui Tonga grew very wroth, and swore that unless he
had fish that day the chief fisherman should die. So they [226]
went out into the bay and tried to cast their nets, but each cast was spoiled by the wind and waves, which twisted the net and drove the floats under. And towards evening the chief said, "Let us at least try Ata: perchance the water is smoother there. Let us cast but once, and if we fail,

173 then let us return and face the anger of the Tui Tonga,
175 for only the gods could catch fish in this weather."

643 So they sailed to Ata and cast their nets on the lee side of the island, but could catch nothing. And the chief fisherman left the others to roll up the nets and went round the beach of the island to look to windward. And as he passed the point he saw a girl bathing, who, seeing him, fled swiftly up the sand and was hidden in the trees; and he wondered greatly, for he knew not that any man lived on the island, and this girl was the fairest that he had ever seen. He said nothing to his companions, but returned to Mua with them, and went into the presence of the Tui Tonga.

[501]



"*She fled swiftly up the sand.*"

"Where are your fish?" the king asked.

"The gods themselves could not take fish in such a sea. Pardon thy servants, for we have toiled as never man toiled before." 173 175 643

"Did I not say that unless you brought me fish you should die? Have ye ever known me to lie? Bring bamboos and the trough, and cut him in pieces."

So they brought the great trough and the bamboo knives, and bound him with vines, unresisting. But when the king's cooks took the knives to cut his flesh he cried out, "Let me speak one word to the Tui Tonga. If I must die I must. I do not ask for a life that is of no value to my chief; but I know something that will never be known unless I tell it before I die."

"What does he know?" said the king: "if he knew the secret of the wind to make it fair at will, yet it should not save him."

And the men went to seize him again, but he cried, "It is well: let me die, since the chief cares not for a beautiful girl."

When he heard this the Tui Tonga cried, "Stop. Do not harm him. What is this he says about a girl? Let him tell us first: if he has fooled us then he shall die."

And the fisherman said, "What am I that I should lie to my chief? I know the fairest girl in all the world, and if the chief wills I can bring her here."

And the Tui Tonga said, "Loose him and make ready a canoe; but if he has lied to us, he shall be hewn in pieces with tortures."

So they prepared the canoe, and the chief of the fishermen called his men together and they set sail, and dragged their canoe ashore at Ata; and the chief fisherman bade

173 his men wait near the canoe, and he went up alone into
175 the trees. There he saw two houses, the one closed and
643 the other open, and he went in and found an old woman sitting on the mats. And he said, "I have come for the maiden to be the chief's handmaid."

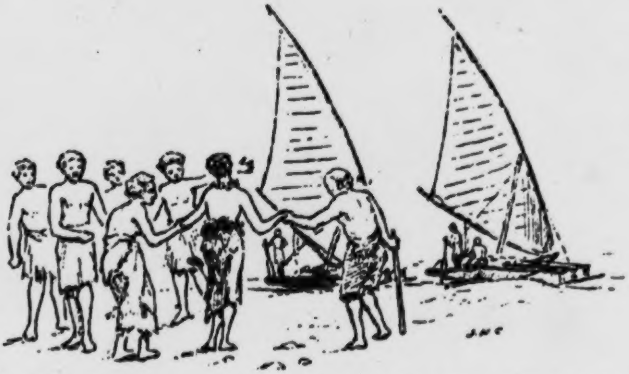
But she feigned not to understand him, and said, "What maiden will you take? Only I and my husband live on Ata, and we have seen no maiden."

But he said, "You cannot hide her from me; for we are many, and you but two only. Come now, I will break down the door of the house if you do not show her to me."

And the old woman began to weep, crying for her only daughter; but he bade her be of good heart, for she ought rather to rejoice that her daughter was chosen to be the handmaid of the Tui Tonga. And she said, "Wait till I have prepared her for her lord;" and she took the girl and bathed her in the sea, and oiled her with scented oil, and bound flowering wreaths in her hair, weeping all the while, and took the finest mats of Haamoa, fringed with the precious scarlet feathers of the kula, and bound them round her slender waist, and brought her to the canoe. And the men who saw her were smitten with her beauty, for there had been no other woman born into the world so fair as she. And they set sail, leaving the woman weeping on the shore, and bore the girl away weeping for her foster-mother's grief, and for fear of that which should befall her. And when they came near to Mua they saw a great crowd assembled at the landing-place, for the Tui Tonga in his impatience had left his house to watch for the return of the canoe; and he kept calling to them to ply their paddles with a stronger hand. When they drew

near he cried out to them to tell her name; and they replied, 173
"Vae-lavea-mata" (The-foot-that-wounds-the-eye). 175 643
And he took her to his house. [551]

And when her first child was born he called him Kauulu-fonua [551]
(Dweller-in-the-hilltops), and he ordered him to [551]
be taken away from his mother lest she should suckle him
and her beauty be spoiled. So they took him to Niutao,
and nursed him there. And a second child was born to [551]
her, and they called him Mounga-motua (Old-mountain),

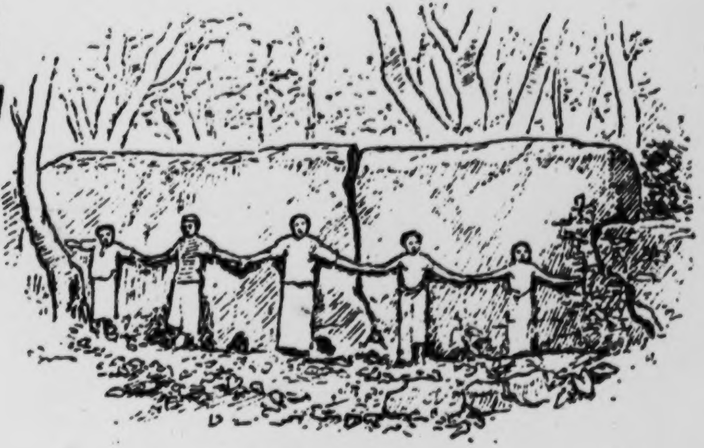


"There had been no other woman born into the world so fair as she."

and his father ordered that he too should be taken from
his mother, and nursed by one of her women. And a [551]
third child was born—a girl—who was called Melino-a-Tonga (The-peace-of-Tonga). Her also they took away. And Vae-lavea-mata grieved for her children whom she had never seen, so that when her fourth child would be born she besought the king earnestly that he would let the child be with her. "For," she said, "to what end have I suffered in bringing them forth, if I may not

173 suckle them as other women suckle their children?"
175 And he granted her prayer, and let her suckle the child;
643 and she called him Lo-tawai. So he only of them all
saw his father, the Tui Tonga.

And as the years passed the Tui Tonga's face was changed towards his people, and he laid heavy tasks upon them, even in the planting-time, when every man should
173 175 643 764 466 [349] be in his own yam-garden. For he built a tomb for himself in the burying-place of his fathers; but he would surpass them all, and bade the people hew great stones from the reef, greater than any of his fathers had taken for their *malae*. And the stone-cutters hewed a huge stone upon the Liku, like an island for greatness; and the Tui Tonga sent to the people of Belehake, saying, "Go, and drag the stone for the side of my *malae;* so I shall not be forgotten hereafter."



The Tomb of a King.

They toiled at the stone all day, sore at heart, for it 173
was planting-time, and in the evening they sent to Tui 175
Tonga, praying that he would suffer them first to plant 643
their yams, and afterwards return to drag the stone, for 466
that it would take many days, and the time for yam- 764
planting was far spent. But he returned answer that they were idle and dishonoured his commands. And the people were afraid when they heard his answer, and gathered together to the stone before it was yet day. And the sun rose on their toil, but the stone was so heavy that when it was low in the west they had only reached the cave Anameama, on the Liku, where there is fresh water. Their throats were dried up with thirst, and they crowded one upon the other in their haste to drink; but so many were they that before they had all drunk the pool was dry, and they licked the mud, and cursed their king in their hearts.

Then one said, "How long shall we suffer this? He has 173
other tasks in his mind for us, and who knows whether 175
we shall live or die, and our wives be given to others? 643 682
Shall we not take rest?"

So they conspired that night to kill the Tui Tonga, and in the morning two old men, Tamajia and Malofafa of Belehake, met him in the path as he went to bathe, and slew him there, and cut up the body so that none might know it, and hung the limbs in a tree.

And one of the king's women ran to Niutao, to tell the children that their father was dead. They were racing toy canoes in the shallow water; and Kau-ulu-fonua, the elder, now almost grown to manhood, was intent upon his canoe, and saw not that the sea was rising and falling

173 unnaturally, but his brother, Mounga-motua, saw it as he
175 sat watching the game on the beach. And he cried,
643 "Chief, the sea is strange." But the elder, thinking
682 only of his game, told him roughly to be silent. Then
[103] the younger saw the sea turn to blood, and as he again
cried out in fear, the woman came and sat down respectfully before her chief, therefore the place is called
[103] Faete (Crouching-place) to this day. She said, "I bring
tidings (*tala fo'ou*)" (therefore the place is called Talafo'ou to this day). "The chief, your father, has been slain."

Kau-ulu-fonua leaped to his feet, and seizing the mast of a canoe, he broke it into three pieces, and gave them to his brothers and to his sister, saying, "Which of us knows our father? Only the child Lo-tawai has seen him." And Lo-tawai answered, "Yes, I shall know him."

So they went forth, led by the woman, and came to the wood called Vao-tabu (Sacred Grove) in which the king had been slain; and the woman led them to the tree in which their father's body hung in a basket. The place is called Tataünga-o-Tui-Tonga, because the body was cut up there. And Lo-tawai looked on it and said, "This is our father: I know the face for his face."[1] And they buried their father there, and called the people to them to war against his murderers, who fled to Eua.

There Kau-ulu-fonua fought them and drove them out, and they fled to Haapai: thither the brothers pursued them, and they fled to Vavau. And as the avengers still

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[1] Penem etiam patris per granditatem mirabilem recognovit; cui quidem nomen proprium datum erat, "Ulie-hae-ā," scilicet "Anguis-qui-sepimenta-perrumpit."

173 pursued, they launched forth upon the ocean, and sailed
175 to Niua-tobutabu, and thence before the wind to distant
643 Niua-foou; but even thither did Kau-ulu-fonua pursue
682 them. And they fled northward again to Haamoa, whose
[103] ancient name was Hahafakamoa,[1] and were driven out
from thence. Then they put forth again, and fled to
[823] Uvea, and still they were pursued. So they fled westward
to Futuna; and because this was the end of the
world, and there was no land beyond them to which they
might flee, they awaited the coming of Kau-ulu-fonua and
his brothers with the remnant of their army.

And when he landed, he prepared his men for war, and
173 175 the men of Futuna, marvelling at his prowess, said, "Thou
643 art not brave of thyself, but by favour of the gods." And
682 he mocked them, and cried, "Then I will leave my back to
776 the gods to defend, and myself defend my face." And as
he was attacking the gate of the wall which his father's
murderers had built, one of them wounded him in the
back as he was passing through the gate. Thereat he
cried, "The gods are fools: they cannot even shield my
173 back." And he seized the old man who had wounded
175 him, and held him until his men came up; and they took
643 the town, and bound both the murderers, and brought
682 them before him, and there was peace. Therefore to this
day are there two divisions of Futuna—the one Futuna,
and the other Futuna Tini because it was left unharmed
[648] by the war. And Kau-ulu-fonua told the people of
Futuna that, as a reward to them for having helped him
to seize his father's murderers, he would grant that they
should always spoil the Tongan canoes that reached their

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[1] Hahafakamoa = beating like a cock's wings.

173 shores.[1] And he gave to the people of Uvea that they
175 should comb the hair of the Tongans who landed on their
643 island with the tail of a sting-ray; and to Niua that they
682 648 should push away the canoes of the Tongans, and not let
103 them land: therefore is Niua called Niua-teke-vaka (Niua
the canoe spurner).[2]

Now the murderers were old men and had no teeth, and when they were brought before Kau-ulu-fonua, he ordered hard dry kava to be brought, and made them chew it before him, so that their mouths were filled with blood. And he bade them pour water into the bowl, and knead and strain the kava, and he drank the draught
551 alone. Therefore was he named Kau-ulu-fonua-fekai
(Kau-ulu-fonua the savage); and he slew his father's murderers in Futuna and returned to Tonga.

When he was returned he called his brothers to him,
173 and he said, "I am the chief, but this people have
175 dared to slay the Tui Tonga. What will they not dare?
643 And how shall the land stand fast if the chief be slain? Now therefore it is my mind to set a chief over the people to govern them, and I will be supreme lord of the soil only, and of the offerings." And he made his brother,

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[1] When the Tongan *matabule* Kau Moala visited Futuna in 1808 he was spoiled of all his goods, and his canoe was broken up. On leaving he was presented with everything he required, but, despite his entreaties, not a single article of his own property was returned to him.

[2] After I had left Tonga I asked an old native of Futuna whether he knew any legends of a Tongan invasion. He wrote down for me an old Saga describing an invasion by the King of Tonga, who cried, when wounded in the back, "The gods are fools!" The only difference in the two stories was that the Futuna account describes the utter rout of the Tongans with so great a slaughter that stacks were made of the dead bodies. Traditions so corroborated rise at once to the dignity of history.

Mounga-motua, lord over the people, and sent him to the peninsula, calling him Tui Haatakalaua. 173 175 643

Since that day, though there have been wars in Tonga, and chief has fought against chief, yet the Tui Tonga has passed unharmed through them all, for he was lord of the soil only and of the offerings.

And there came a Tui Haatakalaua, named Moungatonga, who took to wife a chief woman of Haamoa (Samoa), of the land of Safata in Upolu, named Tohu'ia. She bore him a son, Ngata (Snake), from whom the lords of Kanokubolu, the kings of Tonga, are descended. For Moungatonga saw that they did not honour the chief whom they obeyed, but only him to whom they gave the offerings; and he made his son Ngata lord over the people and his descendants, and called him Tui Kanokubolu, and he himself was content to receive the offerings only. From this Ngata, child of the woman of Haamoa, were all the Tui Kanokubolu sprung, even to Tubou, the king.

Such is the tradition of the origin of the curious political system of Tonga that so puzzled Captain Cook. It is easy to divest the story of its envelope of heroic fiction, and to find the kernel of sound history. The chiefs in Polynesia represent the blood of the original family in its purest form, and to ancestor-worshippers they naturally become the living embodiment of the ancestral spirit. As the tribe grows in numbers and importance, they begin to receive semi-divine honours: with the superstitious respect comes power, and with power the inclination to abuse it. The people are goaded into resistance, and the chief, to protect himself and his successors, delegates the 175 643

175 643 executive power to an inferior chief, and by thus placing a buffer between himself and his subjects, he secures not only his own safety from popular outbreak, but an increased reverence for the rigid *tabu* that begins to environ [562] [644] him. This evolution of a sacred line of chiefs is not peculiar to Tonga, but the system was there complicated by a repetition of the process by which the temporal sovereign again delegated his authority; and by the curious higher degrees of rank enjoyed by females of the spiritual chief's family, arising from the high estimation in which women were held.

As Tongan history may be said to begin with the reign of Kau-ulu-fonua, it is important to fix approximately the date of his exploits. In Appendix I.[A] will be found a list of the Tui Tonga from Kau-ulu-fonua to the last holder of the office. Since the visit of Captain Cook in 1777 the frequent civil wars, and the introduction of Christianity, caused years to pass without the installation of a Tui Tonga, and the office was abolished on the death of Laufilitonga. There have therefore been only four since that date. From 1643 to 1777, a period of 134 years, five Tui Tonga reigned for an average of twenty-seven years each.[1] By the same computation the four Tui Tonga who preceded Tasman's visit in 1643 would have covered 108 years, and Kau-ulu-fonua was Tui Tonga in the year 1535.

From a list of the Tui Kanokubolu it appears that there have been ten since 1777, and eight before that date, including Ngata, who was the first to assume the title.

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[1] Captain Cook found that the natives remembered the circumstances of Tasman's visit in 1643, and were able to point out his anchorage, and to say correctly how many days he stayed. They gave the name of the Tui Tonga then reigning, and the names of five successors of the same dynasty.

[A] /See pp. 395 ff. - Analyst/

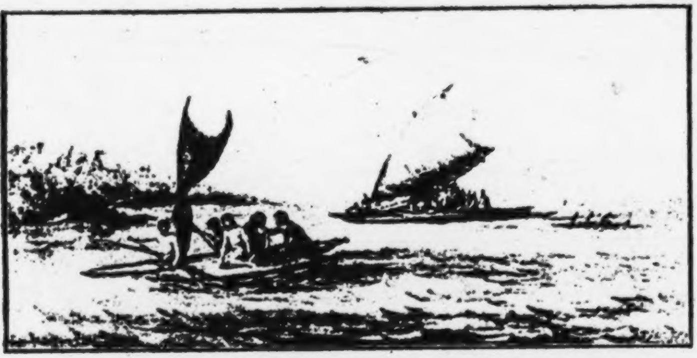
Taking twenty years as the average reign of a Tui Kanokubolu before 1777 (for the short duration of reigns during the past century was owing to the incessant civil wars that followed the murder of Tukuaho), the date of Ngata's assumption of the title would be about 1610. 175 643

The Tui Kanokubolu was not strictly a hereditary office, like that of the Tui Tonga. None but a member of the reigning family could succeed, and a custom seems to have grown up of choosing the successor alternately from the families of the Tui Haatakalaua and the Tui Kanokubolu; but it was always open to the principal chiefs, who formed the electoral college, to reject any aspirant to office who was physically, mentally, or morally unfit to reign. Two conditions weighed with them—the dying wishes of the late king, and the relative power and popularity of the candidates. The election took place immediately after the funeral ceremonies, when the entire nation was assembled; and the election of the most influential chief was a guarantee against civil disorder.

Considering the primitive character of the canoes and their ignorance of navigation, the geographical knowledge of the Tongans was already wide at this remote date. Their canoes must have often been carried out of their course to Fiji, which lies only 400 miles direct to leeward. That they made voyages to and from Samoa in the sixteenth century is shown by the fact that Ngata's mother was a woman of Upolu in Samoa; and the pursuit of his father's assassins by Kau-ulu-fonua shows that they knew of the existence of the Niuas, Uvea, and Futuna, as early as the sixteenth century. A very ancient saga describing the customs of one of the Line Islands indicates that they were visited at a very remote date. Colonies of Tongans 505 175 484

505 are known to have settled in Mangaia to the eastward,
175 and in Ougtong Java to the westward,—castaways, per-
484

[501]



The Tongiaki,[1] *the canoe, now obsolete, in which the early voyages of the Tongans were made.* (From a plate in the British Museum.)

haps, who fought their way into the possession of lands belonging to the aborigines.

II.

THE COMING OF THE FOREIGNERS.

175
177 Under a strong central Government, knowing nothing of civil disturbances, never called upon to repel invasions from without, the people had time to digest the new in-

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[1] Unlike the Fijian canoe, the *Tongiaki* had a fixed bow, and went about like the modern cutter. In tacking, the sail was unlaced from the yards [177] and carried to leeward of the mast. It was entirely displaced by the more complicated *Ndrua* of Fiji about the beginning of this century. Both Schouten and Captain Cook give detailed descriptions, and I have an excellent model built for me under King George's directions.

stitutions. If their young men wanted excitement, there 175
was Fiji: there they might have their fill of war and rap- 177
ine, but in Tonga they must obey the chiefs set over them [622]
by the gods or brave the consequence of the broken *tabu.* [784]
In those days no Tongan had dared to test the belief. 175
It was not a superstition. They had seen men die whom 784
they knew to have infringed a *tabu*, and others, cursed by 761
some enemy, had withered away before their eyes. Thus
was royal authority strengthened by physical fear—ever
the strongest influence with the mob.[1]

For sixty years the land was at peace. They built great 175
tombs for their chiefs, and turned the islands into vast
gardens, so that there was abundance, and rich portions of
the first-fruits were presented to the gods. Then Mou- 175
ngatonga, the Tui Haatakalaua, took the Samoan woman 643
Tohuia to wife, and when her son Ngata grew to manhood, Moungatonga grew wearied with the weight of authority, and charged him with the dominion of the people, while he withdrew himself into the honoured obscurity of rank without power. The new temporal king took his title from the sacred soil of Kanokubolu

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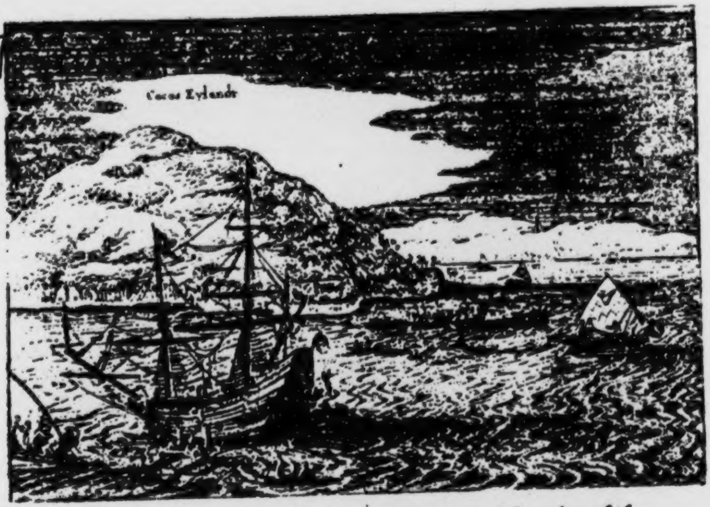
[1] Now that the bugbear of the *tabu* has been put to flight before the
light of Christianity, they have preserved the belief in a changed form.
They believe that he who swears falsely, after kissing the Bible, must die. [779]
In 1886 a house was burned down by an incendiary, and before the courts [626]
could interfere, all the villagers met together for a trial by ordeal. A Bible was brought, and each person took a solemn oath that he or she was innocent of the crime. They took no interest in the judicial inquiry, feeling sure that the culprit would die within a few weeks. Not long afterwards an elderly woman named Aua began to sicken and refuse her food. She grew rapidly worse, and at last confessed that, in a fit of jealousy, she had
set fire to the house of her rival. Her end was hastened by the warnings [769]
of her relations that if she was guilty of perjury she had no chance of recovery. She was fairly frightened to death.

175 643 in Hihifo. At first probably he was the mouthpiece or messenger of the higher chiefs, their Chancellor and perpetual Prime Minister; but the power was destined to grow until it overshadowed the dignity of the heaven-descended Tui Tonga himself.

175 177 609 [501] In Ngata's reign the Tongans first heard of a world outside their own. On May 16, 1616, the two high-pooped Dutch ships of Schouten and Lemaire anchored at Niua-tobutabu. To the fierce inhabitants they were no visitants from the world of spirits, but men like themselves, possessed of property worth seizing. Under colour of selling cocoa-nuts to the crew they tried to carry off a boat; and one of them was shot dead before they would desist. They then made a general attack upon the ship,

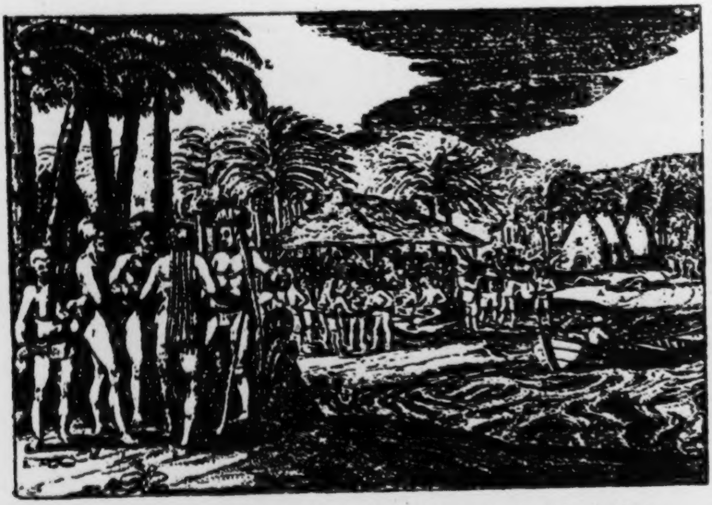


The discovery of Niua-tobutabu by Schouten and Lemaire, 1616.
Vide Appendix II. ^A
(Reduced from a rare Dutch plate in the possession of Dr Corney.)

A /See p. 402 for further information--Analyst/

and were repulsed with heavy loss. Thus one fact was 175
learned—the strangers could not be openly assailed with 177
safety; and the fame of Schouten's prowess, recorded in a 609
rough poem, may have served to protect his great countryman Tasman.

On January 27, 1643, Abel Tasman anchored off Hihifo



[291] [301] [302] [342] [622] [344] [276] [142] [137] [516]

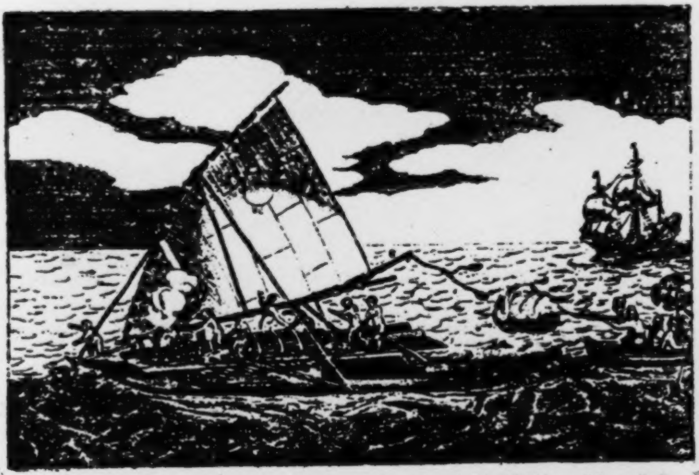
Schouten and Lemaire buying provisions in Futuna, 1616, *showing ancient mode of wearing the hair. Vide* Appendix II. A
(Reduced from a rare Dutch plate in the possession of Dr Corney.)

in Tongatabu. The natives crowded on board his ships to barter provisions for iron, but beyond pilfering when unobserved, they did not annoy their visitors. A chief, probably the Tui Tonga, Tabuoji, entertained them very
hospitably, and invited them on shore. They found that 175
the country was cultivated like a garden. It was divided 177 361
by neat reed fences into plantations, within which stood [311]

A /See pp. 402-403 for explanation of picture--
Analyst/

175 177 [361] [411] [669] the house of the owner. They saw no weapons and no villages, for the time had not yet come when the alarms of civil war would drive the people together for mutual protection. The age of *Fanongonongo Tokoto* (making proclamation while reclining) meant the age of peace and plenty rather than the age of a crowded population. Among the presents given to the Tui Tonga was a wooden bowl, said to be that which, in the Tui Tonga's absence, was used by his subjects to absolve the *tabu* in the ceremony of *moëmoë*. Tasman sailed away, and the Tongans saw no more of the foreigners for 124 years. The priceless iron tools they had given them had long been worn out and disappeared, but the memory of their coming, embalmed by one of the native poets, remained fresh to its smallest details. Four kings had reigned and had been laid in their

[501]



An unprovoked attack by Schouten upon a Tongiaki *off Niua, May* 1616.
Vide Appendix II.[A]
(Reduced from a rare Dutch plate in the possession of Dr Corney.)

[A] /See p. 402 for further information--Analyst/

malae when foreigners again set foot on the soil of Tonga. 175
On August 13, 1767, Wallis, fresh from the discovery of 177
Tahiti, brought to for one day at Niua-tobutabu, and gave the people a few nails in exchange for provisions. These gifts, so precious to a people still in the stone age, were at once carried to their suzerain chiefs in the islands to the far southward; and when Captain Cook landed six years later in Tongatabu, he saw them in the hands of his entertainers.

When the Discovery anchored at Hihifo on the 10th 175
June 1773 the principal chiefs were absent in the islands 177
to the northward, and he saw no one but Latelibulu, the 642
brother of the Tamaha, whom, judging from the honour paid to him, he mistook for the king. Four years later he landed at Namuka in the Resolution and Discovery, and met Finau Ulukalala, whose restless character had raised him from the position of hereditary chief of Vavau to one of greater power than the Tui Kanokubolu himself wielded. Cook thus describes him: "He was tall and thin, and appeared to be about thirty years of age. His features were more of the European cast than any we had seen here." His evident authority in Namuka led Cook at first to suppose that he was king, but when he was confronted with Pau, the Tui Tonga, and performed to him the humble act of *moëmoë*, he rated him as an impostor of that contemptible kind that pretends to a dignity to which he is not entitled. When, however, he realised in Tongatabu the extent of his influence with the older chiefs, and saw that even the Tui Tonga did homage to his female relative the Tamaha, he abandoned all hope of solving the mystery of the Tongan Constitution, and, for want of a better

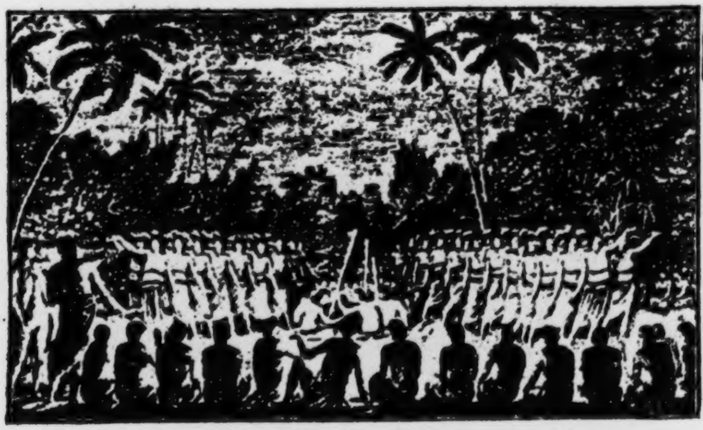
175 definition, elevated Finau to the dignity of Commander-
177 in-Chief.

642 Anxious to keep the visitors to himself, Finau showed
175 them the most lavish hospitality at Haapai, and did all in
177 his power to persuade them to visit Vavau. But the Tui
609 Tonga, attracted by the accounts of the priceless possessions of the strangers, now arrived, and invited them to become his guests at Tongatabu. Finau, nothing abashed at having fallen in his visitors' estimation, followed in his own fleet, and encamped on the shore opposite the little island of Pangaimotu, where the ships were anchored.

The white men were not always conciliatory. The peasants, or serfs, were a noisy, uncouth set, who, when unrestrained by their chiefs, treated the strangers with scant respect, and robbed them whenever they had an
[554] opportunity. In their eyes a successful theft was an
[565] achievement to be boasted of rather than a crime; and as a serf has no soul, it was a matter of indifference to the chiefs how they were punished. Thieves were flogged almost daily on board the ships without disturbing the friendliness of Finau in the least; indeed he himself
[151] recommended this punishment. An officer wrote in his journal: "One was punished with seventy-two lashes for stealing only a knife; another with thirty-six for endeavouring to carry off some drinking-glasses; three with three dozen each for throwing stones at the wooders; but, what was still more cruel, one man, for attempting to carry off an axe, was ordered to have his arm cut to the bone, which he bore without complaining." As no such punishment as seventy-two lashes was allowed in the navy at that time, and the writer was so evidently hostile to his com-

mander, it is probable that the severity of the punishments has been exaggerated. 175 177 609

The chiefs owed their visitors no gratitude. Every present they had received, every condescension shown to them, had been repaid by liberal gifts of provisions. The ships were filled with treasures as precious in their eyes as gold would have been in the eyes of their visitors, and in a few days they would sail away never to return. Why, they thought, should they not prevent this? For the details of the conspiracy they had recourse to Finau, who had seen more of the white men than any of the others. Preparations had already been made for the assemblage of a vast concourse for the performance of dances in honour of the visitors: what would be easier than to fall upon the white men during a night dance by torchlight, conceal the bodies, and, when a party came from the ships to look for



[535] [516]

A bo-mèe *or night-dance at Haapai, June 1777.* (From a steel engraving in the British Museum.)

175 their commander, to lead them inland and massacre them? 177 The ships thus weakened would be an easy prey. But 609 Finau thought that the attempt should be made by daylight, lest, in the confusion caused by the darkness, they should fail in boarding the ships. When he found that the majority were disinclined to adopt his advice, Finau declared that he would have nothing to do with the scheme, and it was reluctantly abandoned. On Tuesday, June 17, Cook and his officers attended the dances without suspicion, surrounded by nearly 10,000 natives, who, if the signal had been given, would assuredly have succeeded in massacring the whole party.[1] The gathering of so vast a crowd in the neighbourhood of the ships could not fail to produce disorder. There was a scarcity of food, and the parties landing for wood and water were insolently plundered. Several turkeys were stolen, and for the first time Cook determined to hold the chiefs responsible for the acts of their serfs. He landed with an armed guard, and without any warning put Finau and Maealiuaki, the Tui Kanokubolu, under arrest in their own house. A number of armed men now assembled with the evident intention of attacking the guard, but Finau, concealing his feelings, ordered them to disperse, and despatched messengers to recover the turkeys. As soon as these returned with the birds the guard was withdrawn, and their friendly relations were resumed. They still dined on board, and continued to send provisions to the captain. But when, a few days later, the muskets of one of the shore parties were stolen, and Cook proceeded on shore to repeat his policy, he found that the chiefs had wisely with-

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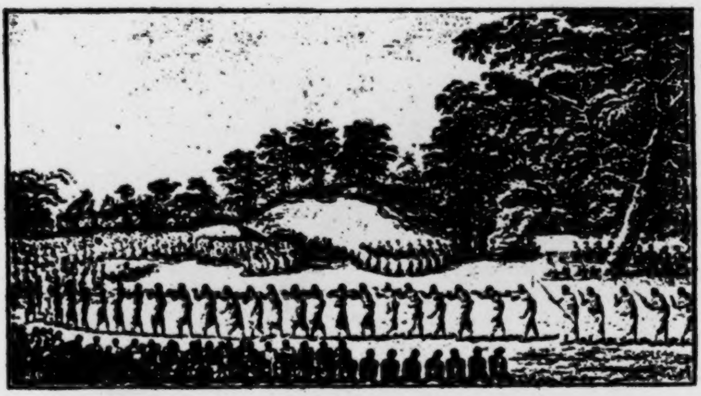
[1] Mariner's Account of the Tonga Islands.

drawn, and it was not until he had given them solemn 175
assurances of their safety that they consented to return. 177
The stolen arms were eventually recovered through the 609
medium of the chiefs, who were not in the least concerned that one of the thieves, who had been wounded with a ball, was not expected to live.[1]

Cook now prepared to leave Tonga, but contrary winds 175
detained him long enough to witness the ceremony of the 177 609 643 782 [535]
inaji, or the presentation of the first-fruits to the gods in the person of the Tui Tonga, their representative on earth. The ceremonial, the dresses, the wooden symbols for the yams, puzzled him extremely. Though forbidden to approach, he forced his way into the inner circle that surrounded the Tui Tonga, and was allowed to remain on the



The great inaji *at which Captain Cook was present, June* 1777.
(From a steel engraving in the British Museum.)

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[1] This man was seen alive and well sixteen years later by D'Entrecasteaux-Labillardière.

175 condition that he bared his shoulders; for the Tongans,
177 then as now, did not expect foreigners to conform to their
609 manners, and were lenient to any breach of their laws
643 committed by a stranger in ignorance. On June 25 he
782 set sail, after a stay of seven weeks, and not many months
later met his tragic end in Hawaii from an over-confidence
in the natives, which his experience of the Tongans (whom
he misnamed the "Friendly Islanders") may have helped
to engender.

175 It seems strange that a people who, to both Tasman and
178 Cook, appeared unaccustomed to the use of arms, should,
721 twenty-two years after the visit of the latter, be found
practising all the barbarities of savage warfare. What
internal ferment, one asks, can have produced so abrupt
a change? Native traditionary history supplies the
175 answer. Intercourse with Fiji was warping the Tongan
177 character.

178 At the time of Cook's visit increasing and regular
intercourse with Fiji was rapidly changing the Tongans
for the worse. Ethnologically, between Fiji and Tonga
[144] there is a great gulf fixed. The former belong to the
great family of the Melanesians; the latter to the pure
stock of the light-skinned race, which, for want of a
[171] better name, are called the Malayo-Polynesians. The
Fijians knew no higher form of society than that of the
family or clan, shut up within its own intrenchments, at
perpetual war with its neighbours; no nobler occupation
than the devising of treachery against their enemies. But
generations of peace had dulled the warlike instincts of
the Tongans, and allowed their institutions to take a firm
[313] root. Timber for sea-going canoes was scarce in Tonga,
[505]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 320]

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

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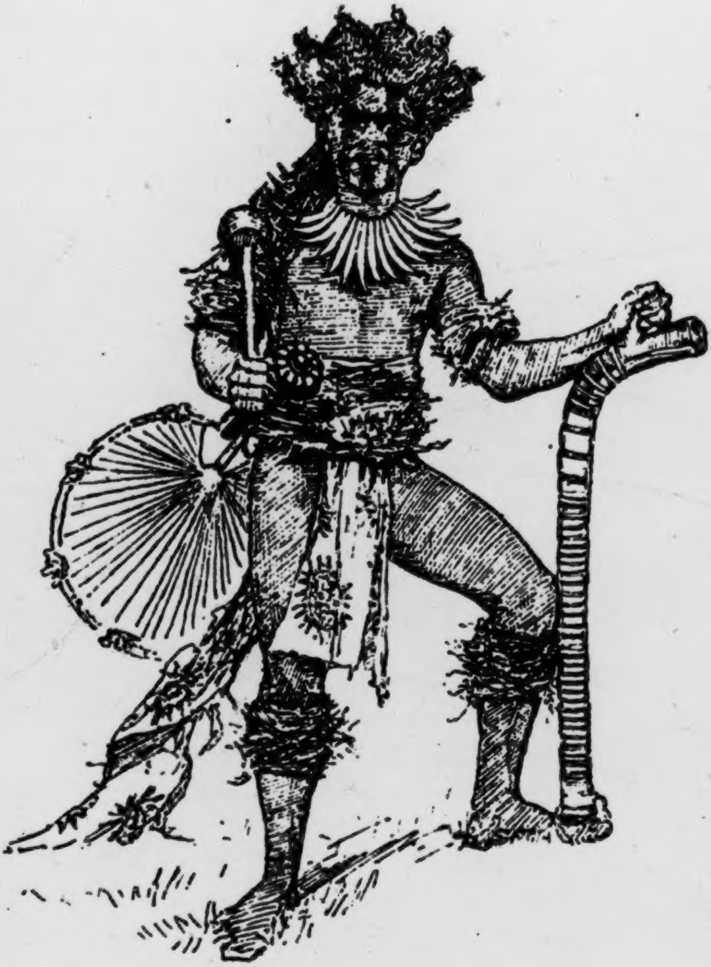


A warrior of Fiji.

175 and it was not until the eighteenth century that any
177 but the principal chiefs could fit out expeditions for
178 distant voyages. A little before 1750 several canoes had
[313] [505] run down the wind to Lakemba, and their crews, after
joining one or other of the local chiefs in war, and gaining
him the victory by their superior daring, had taken their
share of the spoil, exchanged their small canoes for larger
craft, built of *vesi* from Kambara, and returned to their
own country laden with exotic plunder, and boasting of
[86] their foreign experiences. Thenceforth an expedition to
[565] Fiji became the keystone of a Tongan chief's education,
just as in Europe at the same period the "grand tour"
was considered essential to the training of an English
gentleman; and as our travellers brought back outlandish
habits and strange wares, which were admired because
they were foreign, so Cook found that the Tongans spoke
of their neighbours as their superiors in war and in the
175 useful arts. The cold-blooded treachery that will betray
177 a brother to gratify the thirst for blood; the brutal
186 ferocity that spares neither sex nor age; the depraved
178 lust that is gratified in outrage on the dead; the foul
appetite of revenge that will eat the body of a slain
enemy,—all these seemed to the young Tongan the badges
of a manliness worthy of imitation. He regarded the
comparative refinement of his own people as effeminacy,
and vied with his fellows in imitating the accomplishments
of his more travelled countrymen. It would surprise
the Tongan of to-day to hear that his fathers looked
up to the Fijians as his superiors. A contempt born of
familiarity has taught him to estimate the characteristics
of his neighbours at something less than their proper

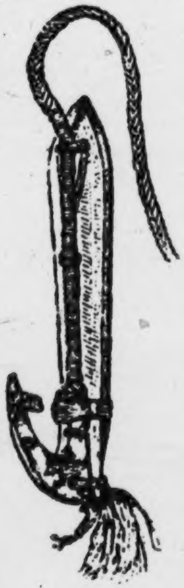
value. The taste for licence engendered by intercourse 175
with Fiji could not but have its effect upon the political 177
situation of Tonga. The young chiefs chafed at their 178
enforced inaction, for there was no scope for personal 186
ambition in a State controlled by so firm a central [642]
Government.

III.

THE REVOLUTION.

Tukuaho now became the central figure upon the stage. 175
In his morose and cruel temper, his unbending policy, 643
his tragic end, and the long years of bloodshed and
misery that followed it, he stands out in the memory
of his countrymen in lurid relief. About the year 1784
the Tui Tonga, Pau, who had so hospitably entertained
Captain Cook, died, and Tukuaho immediately seized the
estates claimed by his widow on behalf of her son Mauulu-beko-tofa,
who was still a minor. Her resistance
was useless, and she was driven to take refuge in the
island of Eua. It was the first sign of the waning power
of the Tui Tonga, and the growing assumptions of the
high temporal chiefs. Tukuaho's motive was doubtless
to seize upon a conspicuous place and secure to himself
in due course the reversion of the office of Tui Kanokubolu.
About 1790 Finau Ulukalala died, and was succeeded 175
by his brother under the same title. The younger 643 634
Finau was Tukuaho's only rival for the leadership of the
young party, and he, being occupied with the affairs of

175 Haapai, could not as yet interfere in the affairs of Tonga- 643 tabu. As soon as the office of Tui Kanokubolu became [634] vacant by the death of Mulikihaamea, Tukuaho successfully schemed for the election of his father Mumui to the title, that he himself might wield the power. His father was already so old that he could not long stand in his way. Meanwhile a bitter jealousy sprang [226] [283] up between Finau and Tukuaho, none the less bitter that it was concealed. It was unfortunate for their country that the two men should have existed in the same generation. Both ambitious, both unscrupulous, both of inflexible purpose, the tiny stage was not large enough for both to play their parts, and a struggle to the death was inevitable.



The Tui Tonga's fish-hook.

At this juncture the ship Duff, fitted 175 797 177 out by the London Missionary Society, landed nine artisan missionaries, who attached themselves to various chiefs, and were thus enabled to record the events of the most stirring times in Tongan [609] history. Unfortunately for themselves, they quarrelled with two runaway sailors who had landed some months before them, and were already in high favour with the chiefs; and these men lost no opportunity of damaging them with the natives, by representing their religious services as witchcraft designed to destroy them,—a statement to which a prevailing epidemic among the chiefs gave colour.

Mumui was now very infirm, and not likely to survive 175
many months. The executive power had therefore passed 643
into the hands of his son Tukuaho, who lived at Hihifo,
but virtually governed the whole island. The power of
the spiritual chiefs had so far declined since Cook's visit
that the missionaries describe the Tui Tonga as coming
below the Tui Kanokubolu in power and influence. On [782]
the 29th May 1797 Mumui died, in spite of the sacrifice
of one of his relations at the shrine of the gods. Two of [768]
his widows, after the custom of Fiji, now fast becoming [593]
the fashion, were strangled at his grave, and the usual [177]
scenes of barbarous grief ensued.[1] At the close of the
funeral ceremonies Tukuaho was formally elected Tui
Kanokubolu, and inducted with the ceremony of kava-drinking.
He is thus described by a contemporary: "He [157]
is a stout man, and may be about forty years of age, is
of a sullen, morose countenance, speaks very little, but
when angry bellows forth with a voice like a roaring
lion." Possessed at last of the supreme power in name
as well as in substance, he gave rein to his instincts
—the instincts of a beast of prey. Many stories are
told of his cruelties: how for a mere whim, worthy of
a Commodus, he ordered the right arms of twelve of his
servants to be amputated; how, as a punishment for a
woman who had offended him, he had her sawn asunder
lengthwise while still alive.[2] But these were not the true 175
causes of Finau's hatred against him, though they served 643
as an excuse for his ambition and insatiable restlessness. 669
Against a more popular ruler he would not have
dared to rebel; but the savage and wanton cruelties of

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[1] 'Missionary Voyage of the Duff.'

[2] Mariner's 'Tonga.'

175 Tukuaho had rendered him so unpopular, that it was
643 easy to gain adherents to the cause of rebellion. He
669 had long been gathering the young men round him, thus
taking the position which Tukuaho had himself used to
raise himself to the position he held.

175 At last the opportunity came. It was the time of the
643 annual *inaji*, or the offering of the first-fruits to the
669 Tui Tonga, when the whole nation gathered to Mua to
782 implore a bountiful harvest from the gods. At such a
[578] time enmities and political distinctions are laid aside,
and the Tui Tonga becomes for the time, as of old, the
head of the nation. Thus when Finau and Tubou Niua,
the tributary chiefs of Haapai and Vavau, arrived at
Mua with a large body of followers carrying their share
of the offering, there could be no suspicion of their
175 designs. In the evening they took leave of the chiefs
643 and set sail with their followers as if bound for Haapai,
669 but in reality to wait on one of the small islands at
the mouth of the lagoon until the people, wearied with
dancing, should be asleep. In the dead of night they
landed on the coast some miles from Mua, and returned
overland to the capital. The night was very dark, and
they had to feel their way to the door of the king's
[302] house. When Finau had posted guards in every approach, Tubou Niua, whom he had put forward to do
the deed, crept into the house among the sleeping forms,
until he could smell the precious sandal-wood-oil with
which he knew the king's head only could be anointed.
Unwilling that he should die in ignorance of the hand
that struck him, he smote him on the face with his
open palm, and, as the sleeper started up, he cried, "It

is I, Tubou Niua, that strike," and immediately shattered 175
his skull with a tremendous blow from his club. He 643
snatched up Tukuaho's adopted son, whom he wished to 669
save, and rushed out of the house as Finau's guards ran
in to kill the women just awakened. The alarm was
now given. The frightened attendants tried to escape
the unknown danger by flight to the bush, but in every
road they were met by Finau's guards and struck down.

Hastily collecting their party, the assassins made for
the beach and broke up all the canoes but those sufficient
to transport them to the eastern end of the island. The
sun rose at Mua upon a scene of bewilderment and confusion.
Men from all parts of the island were crowding [714]
into the town; warriors, hastily armed, were blackening
their faces for war; women were wailing over the dead;
and old *matabules* went from group to group exhorting
them to avenge the death of their chief. To Mulikihaamea [565]
—now the most important executive chief in the
island after the dead king—they all looked to lead them
against the murderers, whom they knew to be awaiting
the turn of events at Hahake. The hopes of the Royalist
party were centred in him, but he would take no decisive
action, and the half-hearted expedition despatched against
the rebels returned in the evening with the loss of half
their number, and reported that Finau had sailed to
Haapai for reinforcements. Three days later he returned
with ten war-canoes carrying a large body of
men. Thousands had now joined Mulikihaamea, who
was expected to dispute Finau's landing; but, to the
dismay of the Royalists, he went over with his whole
force to Finau, and together they swept the country as

175 far as Mua, driving their enemy before them to Hihifo.
643 The eastern and central portions of the island were
669 thus ranged against the western. Tradition has left us
no clue to the motive of Mulikihaamea, but, to judge
from Finau's subsequent conduct, it seems probable that
the rebels were assured of his support before they
ventured to strike the blow.[1]

127 For the events that followed we have the accounts of
the missionaries who accompanied the Royalist army; of
the apostate Vason, who actually fought on the side of
the rebels; and the descriptions given by the natives to
Mariner eight years later.

175 Tukuaho fell on the night of the 21st April 1799.
669 The missionaries were scattered throughout the different
797 districts, each living under the protection of some leading
622 chief, who, though willing to protect them during times
of peace, was quite unable to restrain his people after war
579 had broken out. With the first news of the rebellion the
serfs broke down all restraint, and slaughtered pigs and
fowls wholesale to compensate them for their enforced
abstinence in times of peace. For the first fortnight
there was no general engagement, but there were slight
skirmishes which served to embitter the hostility between
266 the two parties. One of the rebels was taken prisoner,
177 and was cut up alive and eaten,—a reversion to cannibalism,
after the lapse of two centuries, that was owing,
175 doubtless, to the baleful example of Fiji. Ata, the hereditary
669 chief of Hihifo, ordered the bones of Finau's father
769 to be exhumed, and hung upon a tree in Pangaimotu.
576 This was the grossest insult that could be offered to the

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[1] Vason's 'Four Years in Tongatabu.'

Ulukalala family, and it served several chiefs as an 175 669
excuse for deserting to the rebels. 769

On the 9th May news reached Hihifo that the rebels 576 were advancing, supported by Finau's fleet of fifteen sail of canoes. Their plan was to shut the Royalists up in 725 the narrow promontory of Hihifo and utterly destroy them. The rebel army, led by Mulikihaamea in person, marched on the evening of the 9th as far as Teikiu, and despatched an advance-guard to reconnoitre. Among these was Vason. This party advanced till nightfall, and then took shelter for the night in a house near the road without taking the precaution of posting sentries. The Royalists meanwhile, led by Ata, left Hihifo at four o'clock in the afternoon, halting during the night to allow a party time to push to the front. The night was very dark, and they crept forward, each holding the belt of the man in front of him. They could have slaughtered the rebel outpost as they slept, but they chose rather to pass them and take the main body by surprise at Teikiu. At daybreak the rebel outpost was surprised by the main body of the Royalists. They observed no sort of order or formation, and in a few moments they were in full flight. They rallied again at the end of the cross-road that led to the position of their main force; but the enemy, leaving a small force to keep them from effecting a junction, ran off to reinforce their comrades then engaged with Mulikihaamea. At the sight of this reinforcement the rebel army, which had been taken by surprise at daylight, was filled with dismay. Their leader tried in vain to restore confidence: they wavered and fled. In his efforts to rally them Mulikihaamea was left behind in his litter, and the

175 enemy, making a sudden rush, surrounded the twenty
669 people who formed his guard and overturned the litter.
They gave no quarter to his companions, three of whom
were women; and while they hesitated to slay so great a
chief, a man ran up crying, "Kill him!" and upon the
175 sudden impulse he was clubbed where he lay. After the
669 death of their leader the rebels made no further stand,
797 and the Royalists pursued until they reached Haateiho,
609 where three of the missionaries, who had declined to accompany either army, were still living. They had been warned by the fleeing rebels to come with them, but, trusting in their known neutrality, they preferred to remain to protect their houses. Among the Royalists was a man to whom they had refused an axe which he coveted. Calling to his companions, this man set upon them, clubbed them, and looted their house.

175 Tired of pursuit, the Royalists returned and found that
669 the rebel outpost had succeeded in driving off the few
men who had been left to keep them in check, and were
trying to succour their wounded. They now set off in full
flight for the coast, pursued by the victors. On their way
they met Finau's contingent, who had just disembarked.
175 By their direction they continued their flight, drawing the
669 enemy across the beach towards the canoes. Suddenly
565 they turned and fell upon their pursuers, who, taken by
727 surprise, dropped Ata's litter and took to flight. There was now a debate as to what should be done with their prisoner, who was related to one of the chiefs who had captured him. This chief, unwilling to seem partial to an enemy, wished them to kill him, but his attendants insisted that, out of respect for himself, the prisoner's life

should be spared. They therefore retired and called to 175
his sons, who came forward and bore him off in his 669 565
litter. 727

The three surviving missionaries, who had accompanied 175
the victorious army, had left it very early in the day, 669
disgusted with the acts of ferocity they had seen. In 797
one place they had come upon an old man in the act of 266
cooking part of the body of an enemy, intending apparently to eat it; in another a man was celebrating his triumph over a fallen chief by cutting up his body,—and even some of the women dipped their hands in his blood and licked them. On their return to their house in Hihifo, they found that it had been looted by their own party and destroyed. In despair they took refuge among the caves on the deserted Liku.

The rebel army passed the night in their canoes. At 175
daybreak they saw that the enemy was preparing to 669
attack them in force as soon as they landed, hoping to 725
take them by surprise at the sacred enclosure of Pangai, the burying-place of the Tui Kanokubolu; but Finau, warned of their intention, landed his men and attacked them simultaneously from three points. After an obstinate resistance they fled to the enclosure within which stands the king's tomb, hoping that the sanctity of the place would protect them. The rebels, not daring themselves to desecrate the place, applied to Vason, who set it
on fire. No quarter was given, and the refugees, driven 175
out by the fire, were all slain, except a few women who 669
preferred slavery to death. These became the property of 727
their captors. The victors now dragged the dead bodies to 266
the shore, exhausting their ingenuity in insulting them,

175 and there had roasted, and begun to eat them, when the
669 enemy returned to the attack. There was a rush for the
[727] canoes. Overloaded and nearly sinking, they put off
[266] from the shore before the fugitives could all embark.
One canoe laden with men and women was aground, and
its occupants, together with those left behind, were all
massacred. The remnant of the rebel army succeeded
in reaching the island of Atatá, where they were confined
for three days by a severe gale: they spent the time in
murdering the defenceless inhabitants, who were supposed
to have Royalist sympathies. From Atatá they sailed to
Mua to take counsel for a renewal of the attack.

[797] The missionaries, who had taken refuge on the Liku,
now ventured to come out of their hiding-place and
accompany a number of the Royalists to Maofanga.
This is a sacred spot, situated a mile to the eastward
of Nukualofa, which, from the rigid *tabu* that attached
to it, had become a place of refuge never violated by war.
In a few days Finau's army made another descent upon
Hihifo by sea, and on May the 29th, after an obstinate
175 engagement, they utterly routed the enemy. On the 3d
669 of June he summoned the refugees before him at Maofanga,
727 and allowed all except ten of the leaders to go free.
Mafi, the bravest and most influential of the Royalist
warriors, and nine others were sentenced to various punishments.
Some, bound hand and foot, were taken out
to sea and put adrift in leaky old canoes, while Mafi
and the others were led to the canoes amid the loud
lamentations of their wives and children, and landed at
Lofanga, a small island of the Haapai group, where they
were bound naked to cocoa-nut-trees and left to starve to

death. There, exposed to the heat of the sun, to raging 175
thirst and hunger, they were tortured by the boys of the 669
place, who amused themselves by sticking spears into 727
their flesh, or by showing them food to tantalise them;
yet some of them lingered till the eighth day, and all
bore their sufferings without complaint. The people of [775]
Lofanga still say that at night they hear the groans of
the spirits that haunt the spot.

Having settled the affairs of Tongatabu, Finau Uluka- 175
lala returned to Haapai. He found a body of Royalists 669
drawn up to meet him at Haano, who after a sharp
conflict surrendered to him. He disarmed the lower [727]
orders, and punished the chiefs with the same barbarity
he had practised on the chiefs of Hihifo. From Haapai
he sailed with Tubou Niua to Vavau, which submitted to
him after a desultory warfare lasting for several weeks.

For nine months there was peace. The Hihifans had
not in truth accepted the new order, but they had not
recovered sufficient strength to resist. On the 24th of [797]
January 1800 the privateer Betsy, with a Spanish prize in tow, took away all the survivors of the ill-fated mission except the apostate Vason. A few days later, while a party of Finau's men were at Hihifo collecting provisions to relieve the scarcity at Haapai, the rebellion against Finau broke out. A party of Hihifans ravaged the central district, burning and laying waste, and at last hemmed in the Haapai men at the narrow promontory of Hihifo. Here they took an ample revenge for the wrongs they had suffered. When the slaughter was ended they made stacks of the bodies, laying them transversely one upon another.

175 As soon as the news reached Finau he set sail with all
669 his forces from Haapai, and disembarked at Hahake, the
eastern end of Tongatabu, in order to procure provisions
for his army; but he found that the country had been
utterly laid waste by the enemy. He therefore lost no
175 time in coasting westward. In Hihifo he met an unexpected
669 check. The enemy had intrenched themselves
725 behind earthworks surmounted with a strong reed fence.
He tried in vain to force the gate, and when his men were
wearied with repeated attacks the enemy rushed out and
put them to flight. They ran for their canoes, and sailed
at once for Haapai. Finau was now driven to revenge
himself by a series of night attacks. He would arrive off
the coast at nightfall, and post men in every road leading
to the fortress. A sudden attack would then be made,
and the enemy, taken by surprise, would rush into the
country for shelter, where they were struck down by the
men in ambush. Before the alarm could spread to the
neighbouring forts Finau's men had re-embarked and were
[501] under sail for Haapai. These expeditions were made in a
single canoe carrying 250 men.

175 The planting season had come and gone, and the constant
669 alarms had prevented any provision for the ensuing
731 year from being made. The object of every hostile expedition
had been to destroy as much of the crops as possible.
The year 1800 opened, therefore, with a terrible
famine in Tongatabu, while in Haapai the land proved
insufficient to support the large number of men congregated
175 there. Each district had thrown up intrenchments,
669 within which the people lived, not daring to resume the
[361] [266] cultivation of their lands. Many were driven to can-

nibalism for the support of life, and the warfare between 175
the different fortresses degenerated into mere head-hunting 669
expeditions. 266

Tukuaho had been nominally succeeded by Maafuli- 175
muloa, and upon his death, a few months later, Tukuaho's 669
eldest surviving son, Tubou-malohi, was proclaimed Tui 643
Kanokubolu, albeit a king without subjects. Safe within
their fortresses the petty chiefs acknowledged no superior;
and Tubou-malohi was so harassed by Takai, the one-eyed
chief of Bea, that he became in reality a fugitive from his
own subjects. Misfortunes attended all his enterprises.
Having failed to avenge his father's death upon Finau and
Tubou Niua, he set sail for Fiji. There he remained in [167]
voluntary exile for nearly five years; but in 1805, hearing [712]
that Finau's descents upon Tonga had become mere annual
predatory expeditions, he returned and built a large fortress
on the hill at Nukualofa.

In 1806 an event occurred that vastly strengthened 175
Finau's position. An English privateer, the Port-au- 609
Prince, put into Haapai for repairs, having on board Mr 669
Mariner, the son of one of the owners. The crew were
mutinous, and insisted on going ashore, and the temptation
was too great for Finau. They were massacred, and the
ship was then surprised and captured by the natives. Mr [727]
Mariner became a great favourite with Finau, with whom
he spent four years, and to his captivity we are indebted
for a most charming book of travel.[A]

With the carronades of the captured ship, manned by 175
English sailors, Finau made an attack upon Tubou-malohi's 669
fortress and destroyed it with great slaughter. But instead 725
of pursuing his victory he withdrew, and had the mortifi- [713]

[A] /See 2 and 3: Mariner, this file, for this account -- Analyst/

175 cation of seeing his works burnt by Takai, his pretended
669 ally, as he was sailing away. Tubou-malohi henceforth
725 became a wanderer from fortress to fortress, taking refuge
175 with his tributary chiefs, being driven out by each of his
669 hosts in turn, until at length he became the guest of
643 Teukava[1] in Hihifo. Unfortunately for both of them,
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578 his restless spirit could not be satisfied with inaction. They laid siege to the neighbouring fortress of Nukunuku, against the advice of their *matabules*, and in attempting to garrison it, Teukava lost his life. Emboldened by his death, his enemies attacked the fortress at Hihifo, and although they were beaten off by the bravery of its de-
175 fenders, yet Tubou-malohi feared to remain there. He
669 accordingly despatched an embassy to his younger brother,
643 Tubou-toa, then Governor of Haapai, begging him to in-
[634] tercede with Finau Ulukalala to allow him to live in security at Haapai. In due course the two brothers visited Vavau, and the elder did homage to his father's murderer and his own subject. It must have been a proud moment for the usurper. Tubou-malohi lived in retirement in Haapai until 1812, leaving his kingdom of Tongatabu to the civil war and anarchy that he had been unable to repress.

175 Tubou-toa, though he had given in his adhesion to the
669 stronger party, had not forgotten the murder of his father.
634 He had taken a solemn vow not to drink from a cocoanut-shell until he had had his revenge upon Tubou Niua, and his submission to Finau, whom he knew to be equally guilty with his brother, was designed to bring him nearer

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[1] This chief had a white woman, Eliza Mozer, for his wife. She was taken from the American ship Duke of Portland.

to his object. Tubou Niua, as Governor of Vavau, had 175
become very popular with his people. He was of a brave 669
and open character, little fitted to cope with the cunning 634
of his inveterate enemy, who lost no opportunity of poisoning Finau's mind against him. He was, he said, plotting a rebellion against Finau's authority, and he habitually neglected to send tribute of the value due to Finau's rank and power. At last he openly proposed his assassination; and Finau, never deaf to any proposal that would advance his own interests, even at the cost of the treacherous murder of a brother, listened to him. The murder is thus described by an eye-witness:—

> One evening, about an hour before sunset, the king desired Mr Mariner to accompany him and his daughter to Mahina Fekite, about three-quarters of a mile off: he was going, he said, to consult an old chief, Toki-ae-moana, who resided there, upon some political business. Finau usually carried with him a large [411]
> whaling-knife (the blade of which was 2 feet long and 3 inches wide). Mr Mariner, observing on this occasion that he did not take his knife, asked him if he should take it, and carry it for him: he replied, "No, I have no need of it." Mr Mariner obeyed, and followed him and his daughter unarmed. In their way they came near to a pool, and Finau stepped aside to bathe, previously sending an attendant to Tubou Niua to desire him to come to him. By the time he had done bathing Tubou Niua arrived, and all four pursued their walk to the old chief's house, where, when they arrived, the two chiefs and Finau's daughter entered the inside fencing, while Mr Mariner went into a house within the outside fencing, and remained in conversation with a female attendant of Finau's daughter. They had not been long here before Tubou-toa came in, and shortly after went out again. There entered soon after four men belonging to him, who immediately began to take down the sail, mast, and spars

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of a small canoe, stating as their reason, when questioned by the woman, Tubou-toa's orders to prepare a canoe: having taken what they wanted they went out. In about two hours Finau came out of the inner fencing, followed by Tubou Niua and his own daughter. As they passed on, Mr Mariner followed her, and the female attendant walked last. It was now night, but somewhat moonlight. As they passed the corner of the outer fencing, Tubou-toa and the four men just spoken of rushed from their hiding-place, and made a violent assault on Tubou Niua. The first blow of a club he received on his shoulder (intended for his head). He immediately exclaimed, "*Oi-au-e Finau, teu mate?*" (O, Finau, am I to be killed?), and retiring a few steps, he set his back against the fencing. Finau, who was several paces in advance, immediately made what was thought to be a feigned attempt to defend him, exclaiming, "*Oi-au-e seuke, kuo mate ae tangata!*" (Alas! this noble man is killed;) but he was held from his strong, yet pretended, endeavour to run to his assistance by some other attendants of Tubou-toa, who came up and forced Finau into the fencing. (It must be recollected that Finau did not choose to bring his whaling-knife with him.) Tubou Niua, who was without any offensive weapon, as he had been without any suspicion, warded off several blows with his hands and arms till, these being both broken, he was unable to lift them up, when a blow from Tubou-toa on the head made him stagger, another knocked him down, and he was beaten as long as signs of life remained, and for some time after. At this moment a young warrior, whose name was Latuila, and whose father had been formerly killed under suspicions, strong suspicions, of conspiracy by Tubou Niua, came up to the spot possessed by a spirit of implacable revenge. He struck the body of the dead chief several times, and exclaimed, "The time of vengeance is come! Thou hast been long enough the chief of Vavau, living in ease and luxury, thou murderer of my father! I would have declared my sentiments long ago if I could have depended upon others to second

me: not that I feared death by making you my enemy, but the 175
vengeance of my chief, Tubou-toa, was first to be satisfied, and 669
it was a duty I owed the spirit of my father to preserve my life 634
as long as possible that I might have the satisfaction to see thee
thus lie stinking" (dead). He then repeated the blows several
times upon his stomach.

In spite of Finau's positive denial of complicity with
the murderers of his brother, he did not deceive the chiefs
of Vavau. In Haapai, in the centre of Finau's army, they
were at a great disadvantage. When the stone was let
down upon the tomb of their murdered chief, one of the
assassins publicly challenged any of them to single combat;
but none of them accepted, preferring to reserve their
revenge. They swore allegiance to Finau upon a con-
secrated bowl, and received his commands to put them-
selves under the authority of his aunt, Toe-umu; and all,
except the late chief's *matabules*, who were kept back by
Finau, returned to Vavau. But a fortnight later the news
came that Toe-umu herself had declared her independence
of Finau, who had so treacherously allowed the death of
his brother, her great friend. They had built the largest [725]
fortress ever seen in Tonga, and they were prepared to [712]
resist Finau to the death. While the preparations for
an invasion of Vavau were being made, Finau's son,
Moengangongo, and Vuna, the former Governor of Vavau,
arrived from Samoa, where they had been absent for some
years. One of their canoes, with sixty people on board [501]
and all their treasures, was lost in a gale which the other
five succeeded in weathering.

Finau, in obedience to an oracle, first visited Vavau [787]
alone to endeavour to make terms with the inhabitants,

175 but they would only consent to listen to him on the
669 condition that he would cut off all communication with
634 Haapai. He therefore returned to Haapai and embarked
787 his forces, about 5000 men and 1000 women, in fifty war-
701 canoes, with four carronades and ammunition. The siege
501 lasted many months, and the garrison only submitted in
713 obedience to the gods, and after imposing conditions upon
725 their assailants to take no revenge upon any of them.
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175 These conditions were not observed. Finau heard, or pre-
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634 tended that he had heard, of a plot upon his life. Several
727 of the leading chiefs were seized at his kava-party, bound,
and summarily despatched; but eighteen were reserved for
the more signal punishment of being turned adrift in leaky
canoes. On their way to the open sea they implored their
executioners to knock out their brains instead of consigning
them to the slow and ignominious death of drowning, and
the request was granted in twelve cases. The other six,
all chiefs of high rank, were turned adrift, and died regret-
ting their foolishness in trusting to the honour of Finau.

175 In Finau's mind there was a growing scepticism regard-
634 ing the religion of his ancestors. He was now in the
771 zenith of his prosperity, and he had never deserved well
776 of the gods by submission to their will, or by regularity
643 in his offerings. To him the institution of a Tui Tonga
seemed a useless tax upon the people—a worn-out cult, a
782 mere survival of the superstition of a darker age. He
643 was proposing seriously to abolish the *inaji*, the great
annual presentation of food to the Tui Tonga, which, in the
famine that had succeeded the war, was very difficult to
175 provide, when a great misfortune fell upon him. His
634 daughter, after a long illness, died. While there was
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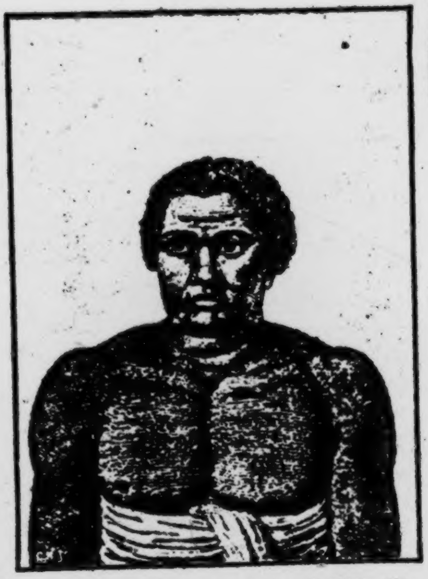
still hope he humbled himself before the deities he had 175 slighted, and implored them to visit his sins on his own 634 head rather than upon hers; 776 but the inspired priest 793 answered that her death was required as an atonement for his continued neglect, and that a severer punishment was in store for him. As soon as the first paroxysms of grief were passed he determined on the most [142] impious revenge he [291] could devise—name- [302] ly, to kill the priest of his god, Tubou Toutai. He had actually sent for a rope with which to bind him when he [782] was seized with sudden illness. It was in vain that one of his children was strangled to appease the gods: in twenty-four hours he was dead. But the evil he had wrought in Tonga could not end with his life. He had found his country in peace and plenty, he left it torn by famine and civil war, having in his short life caused more bloodshed and human suffering than the aggregate in the whole of Tongan history before his time. A contemporary writer thus sums up his character: "A char-



Finau Ulukalala, the rebel, after Labillardière.
(From an engraving in the British Museum.)

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175 634 acter like Finau's would have well suited the Greek drama. The great masters of that drama would have desired no better elements than are to be found in the history of this remarkable man: his remorseless ambition and his natural affections—his contempt for the fables and ceremonies of his country, when in prosperity—his patient submission to them, when in distress—his strong intellect—his evil deeds—and the death which was believed to be inflicted on him in vengeance by the overruling divinities whom he defied."[1]

He was succeeded by his son, Moengangongo, a chief of [628] milder character, whose one desire was peace. His first act was to banish to Haapai the chiefs who were likely to plot against his Government, and to announce that henceforth all communication with Haapai would be at an end. His people were, he said, to devote themselves to cultivating the soil, and those who preferred less peaceful pursuits had this opportunity of joining Tubou-toa; for after the canoes left there would be no further intercourse with the 175 islands to the southward. A few months after his acces- 634 sion the Tui Tonga, Fatafehi Fuanunuiava, died, having 643 reigned only four years, and the young chief, now to be 782 known by the family title of Finau, seized the opportunity for carrying out his father's intention of abolishing the office. Like his father, he regarded the institution with its attendant ritual as a useless tax upon the people; and he foresaw too that as long as the annual presentation of the *inaji* was continued, it would be impossible to cut off all intercourse with the outside world. The office was therefore abolished for some years, and when it was revived in

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[1] Quarterly Review.

the person of Laufilitonga, the last of the Tui Tonga, the 175
ceremony of the great *inaji* had been discontinued too 634 643
long to be resumed. 782

Mariner, the only historian of this period, left in 1810; 175
and for the events of the next few years we are depen- 177 127
dent upon native sources. In 1811 Finau II. died, and 175
was succeeded by his uncle, Finau Fiji, otherwise known 634
as Tuabaji—a wise and temperate chief, with greater
experience if less natural mental activity than his
nephew. Under his rule intercourse with Haapai was [628]
resumed, for he felt himself strong enough to keep disorderly spirits in check.

Haapai now became the political, as it was the 175
geographical, centre of the kingdom. Tubou-toa had 628
gathered round him the great warriors of Tonga, many 643
of them trained in the arts of war as practised in Fiji. [701] [177]
With him were his brother Tubou-malohi, the nominal
Tui Kanokubolu, and Vuna, the banished chief of Vavau.
To keep his warriors employed, he was obliged to make [578]
an annual descent upon Tongatabu without any decided
success. In 1812, however, Tubou-malohi died, and his
brother became the natural successor, although his mother
had been a woman of inferior rank. He was duly elected [578]
to the post by the chiefs who were under his leadership,
and he lost no time in invading Tongatabu. During the [669]
eight years that remained to him, he succeeded in mak- [642]
ing some at least of the revolted chiefs acknowledge his
authority; but at his death, in 1820, the fortresses were
rebuilt, and the island relapsed again into anarchy.

IV.

KING GEORGE.

175 643 When Tubou-toa was establishing himself in Tongatabu, he did not leave the government of Haapai unprovided for. His son Taufaahau[1] was now growing up to manhood. Born in the year 1797, he was two years old when the murder of his grandfather, Tukuaho, plunged the country into civil war. His childhood was spent among scenes of famine and bloodshed, the horrors introduced from Fiji, where boys of his age were taught to torture wounded prisoners in order to make them pitiless. He saw the crew of the Port-au-Prince struck down on the beach at Haano, and stood by while eight of his countrymen perished, stifled by the oil in the vessel's hold, in which they could not swim. He remembered the alarms of that night when his father slew Tubou Niua, and so avenged his grandfather's death. At an age when boys are still playing with toy canoes, he was joining his father in the night attacks that have made his name a terror to Tongatabu. His great natural powers were enhanced by the most careful athletic training. As he surpassed his fellows in stature and length of limb, so was he their superior in all sports that demand skill. None was so fleet of foot, none could meet him in a wrestling- or a boxing-match, none could endure against him in swimming in the surf, nor handle a *tafaanga* laden

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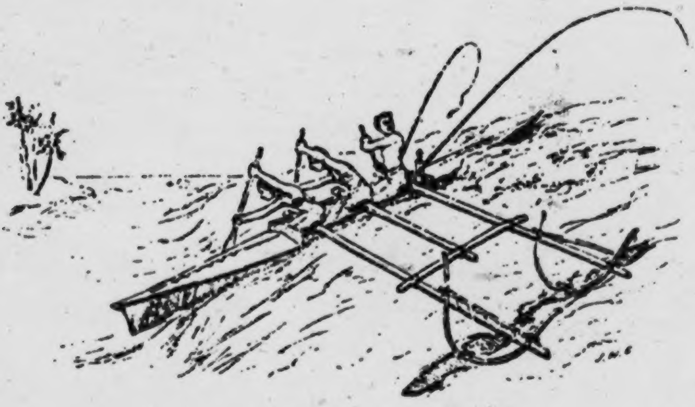
[1] In this chapter King George is called Taufaahau until his accession to the throne under the royal name of Tubou.

with fish in a seaway as he; none was his match in a fight 175
to the death. During one of the annual attacks upon 643
Tonga, he had left his comrades near the canoe, and had gone a little way from the shore. Suddenly he found [411]
himself, armed with only a Fijian throwing-club, face to face with five assailants, who had lain in ambush for him. His followers were too far off for his voice to reach them, and he knew that against their long spears his throwing-club could avail him little. He turned and ran before them, keeping just out of reach of their weapons, leading

[501]



A tafaanga *in the surf.*

them inland towards a place that he knew of where the soil gave place to jagged limestone rocks. Little distressed himself, he ran on until he knew by their labouring breath that his pursuers had begun to tail off. This was his opportunity. He turned and met the leading man, and struck him down before he could recover from his surprise. Seizing the spear that dropped from his hand, he fell upon the second and third, who, gasping for

175 breath after their run, were at a great disadvantage. The
643 other two did not await his onset, but fled, leaving him
victorious.

[634] Such was his reputation as a warrior, that he was
marked as the future leader of the Haapai people when
he had scarcely attained manhood. He was twenty-three
when his father died in 1820, and the unity of Tongatabu,
bought by years of hard fighting, was again swept away
by civil war. Taufaahau saw no advantage in following
his father's example, who ever wearily pushed up the
stone of conquest in Tongatabu only to see it roll back
upon him weakened by his hopeless labour. The Government
of Haapai, impoverished as it was by the years
of war, would give him work enough.

[628] For six years there was no Tui Kanokubolu. The
garrisons of Tongatabu still lived within their intrenchments,
but they were tired of war, and for a time there
was an armed peace. But a power was at hand which
was destined to accomplish that which invading armies
175 had fought in vain. In June 1822 a Methodist mis-
797 sionary named Lawry, fired by the writings of the survivors
of the artisan missionaries landed by the Duff,
[771] made a second attempt to teach Christianity. The growing
disbelief in the ancient superstitions that had led
Finau Ulukalala to attempt the abolition of the great
inaji, and to curtail the privileges of the Tui Tonga,
[793] had spread to Tongatabu. The influence of the priests
had been undermined by the licence of war, and Lawry
had not to face the difficulties that beset the pioneers
[634] of the Duff. He found the chief power in Tongatabu
to be in the hands of Maealiuaki, or Talau as he was

also called, the son of Mulikihaamea, who was temporal 175
sovereign before Mumui. He had married Kananga, a 797
granddaughter of Mumui, who had just borne him a son, 634
Tungi,[1] who was through his grandfather, Mulikihaamea,
the representative of the Tui Haatakalaua. Fortunately
for Lawry's influence, in November 1823 a young chief
named Futakava, who had been taken to New Zealand
and Sydney by a passing vessel, returned to Tonga.
They had treated Lawry's accounts of the wonders of [609]
foreign countries with scepticism, but they did not think [829]
of doubting the evidence of one of their own countrymen,
even when, after the manner of travellers, he indulged in
exaggeration. But before Lawry could expect to reap
the fruit of his labours he left the islands. His stay
of fourteen months served, however, to pave the way
for his successor.

In 1826 two Tahitian teachers landed at Nukualofa 175
and began to hold services; and two months later a 797
Mr Thomas, despatched by the Methodist Society in [634]
England, landed at Hihifo, and put himself under the
protection of the chief Ata. For some months he had
to contend against opposition, but in 1827 the spirit
of curiosity was so far awakened in the natives as to
make it safe for him to hold services in Nukualofa. At 175
the close of the previous year Tubou, a half-brother of 643
the murdered Tukuaho, was elected Tui Kanokubolu,
and formally installed. It has been said that he was
elected as a bribe to wean him from his leanings towards
the new faith; but a comparison of the dates of his
appointment and Mr Thomas's arrival makes it more

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[1] Speaker of the Assembly, and Tukuaho's father.

175 probable that his election was the result of a prolonged
643 peace of six years, which gave the chiefs time to revert
to the ancient constitution of society. One year after
175 his election he publicly embraced Christianity, and a
643 797 party, having for its object active resistance to the new
669 faith, was immediately formed against him. Tubou was
[621] utterly wanting in force of character. His impulse to
please every one led him to temporise with the heathen
party, which was composed for the most part of chiefs
who saw in the new faith a menace to their own power
over their people. Had he been less vacillating he might
have crushed the growing resistance to his authority at
its birth, but his resolution failed him until it was too
late.

Against his irresolution the character of Taufaahau
175 stood out in strong relief. He had long been sceptical
634 797 about the gods of his ancestors, and his mind was ripe
to imbibe new ideas. He had heard of the new teachings,
and he longed to hear them for himself. He therefore
wrote to Mr Thomas asking that a missionary might be
sent to him. No white missionary was available at the
time, and he had therefore to be content with Peter Vi,[1]
the ablest of the new converts. Bitterly disappointed,
Taufaahau refused at first to receive him, but at last his
curiosity prevailed, and he allowed Peter to teach him
175 to write. As soon as he understood the teachings of the
634 new religion he signed the death-warrant of the old. To
797 silence the opposition of the native priests, he dragged
798 Peter with him into many escapades intended to discredit
the deities of his ancestors. They presented kava to

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[1] The same who visited us on a hand-cart in Haapai.

the priestess of Haehaetahi, and beat the unfortunate 175
woman, challenging her god to avenge the insult; they 634
hanged five idols by the neck, and burned the spirit- 797
houses, to convince the people by ocular demonstration 798
that infringement of the *tabu* had no penalties.

In 1827 Captain d'Urville in the Astrolabe anchored 175
at Pangaimotu,[1] and was attacked by a party of natives, 177
who carried off with them one of his marines. Not being 609
disposed to land, or apply to the local authorities, and knowing the evil character the people had earned in their attempts to take ships, he bombarded the island for two days without doing serious damage. Later in the year Peter Dillon, on his way to find the remains of de la Perouse's ill-fated expedition at Vanikoro, put in for a few days to secure interpreters.

Finau Ulukalala III. (Tuabaji, *alias* Finau Fiji[2]), who 175
now held independent sway over Vavau, following Tau- 634
faahau's example, had also written for a missionary; but 797
his motive proved to be that of mere curiosity, and he
soon cast off his new professions. In April 1831 Tau- [628]
faahau visited Vavau with twenty-four sail of canoes, on political business, and took that opportunity for attempting the conversion of his eccentric neighbour. It was a hard task, and he found it necessary to sail back to Haapai unattended to ascertain from the missionary whether it would be safe to promise Finau a missionary if he would consent to renounce his gods. Satisfied upon this point, he returned to the attack.
Being before all things practical, Finau determined to 175 634
give his fathers' gods one last chance before finally 797 776 778

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[1] Near Nukualofa.

[2] Described by Mariner.

175 breaking with them. He had seven of the principal
634 idols placed in a row, and addressed them as follows:
797 "I have brought you here to prove you, and I will tell
776 778 you beforehand what I am going to do, so that you may
have no excuse. I am going to burn you. If you be gods, escape!" But as the idols made no attempt to escape, he gave orders that the spirit-houses should be set on fire. Eighteen were thus destroyed; but the weather being damp, they took four days to consume, and the people sat by terrified, waiting for the retribution that must follow such iniquity.

175 Meanwhile Finau's brother prepared to oppose the new
634 faith by force of arms. After plundering the outlying
797 villages of Vavau, he intrenched himself on an uninhabited
578 island. Finau called upon Taufaahau to help him out of
the difficulty brought about by following his advice. At the head of a strong party of Haapai warriors he landed on the island, and tried his powers of persuasion upon the hostile force. Besides his physical prowess Taufaahau possessed another gift that appeals most powerfully to primitive man — eloquence. Often when his men were jaded, hungry, and dispirited, a few words from him would turn their thoughts from their own sufferings to the glory to be won by fiery courage and the shame of failure. "When Tubou spoke like that," said one of his chiefs, "the warriors would not wait to hear the end, but rushed upon the enemy and bore them down."

While the enemy still hesitated he prepared for the attack, but they did not await his onset. They threw open the rude gateway and sued for peace. No blood was shed, but the leader was banished to Fiji, and a number of his

followers were taken to Haapai as prisoners of war. This 175
moderation on the part of conquerors was the first-fruits 634 797
of the new faith, for by ancient usage the lives of the 578
chief rebels would have been forfeited.

In 1833 Finau Ulukalala died, and on his deathbed 175
committed the government of Vavau to Taufaahau until 634
his heir should be grown up. Upon this the Roman 693
Catholic missionaries have founded a charge of usurpation against King George which may be easily answered. The heir died, and before his successor had attained manhood Tonga had become a united kingdom with a Constitution, and to give Vavau an independent government would have brought the whole fabric to the ground. But Tubou showed me on more than one occasion that he was uneasy about Finau's dying charge.

Taufaahau was now in reality an independent sovereign of the joint kingdoms of Haapai and Vavau, and was free to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Tui Kanokubolu or
not as he pleased. Under his influence the new religion 175
had been embraced by the people of Haapai and Vavau 797
with all the emotional zeal of new converts. In their 184
restless energy, and the ease with which enthusiasm or suspicion may be excited in their minds, the Vavauans are a race distinct from their neighbours of the southern groups,—as distinct as the contrast between their mountainous romantic island and the flat shores of Haapai and Tongatabu. They may be violent partisans or bitter enemies—they cannot be neutral. They are, in short,
the Irish of Tonga. It was not long before the mis- 175
sionaries, by awakening this curious quality of hysterical 797
enthusiasm, had established over them a clerical despot-

175 ism that made them independent of political changes.
797 But against the silent forces of inherited enmities in
175 Tongatabu, the legacy of years of civil war, Christian-
797 ity could make no headway. It was enough that Tubou
798 the king had accepted the white man's religion for
the chiefs averse to his rule to remain heathen. That
Tui Vakano had been converted was reason enough
for Lavaka, lord of Bea, to continue unregenerate. In
1835 the chief holding the title of Tui Vakano joined
the missionaries, and his people formally deprived him
175 of his title, and expelled him from their midst. Furious
797 at the treatment he had received, he reported that
798 the heathen party were determined to depose King
669 Tubou by force of arms. The Christians immediately
threw up intrenchments at Nukualofa, and thus precipitated the outbreak of hostilities. But a severe hurricane, that destroyed the food supplies, compelled both parties to remain inactive throughout 1836. At this juncture it is probable that the king might have averted war had he shown the least firmness or energy; but as he made no effort to win over the hostile party by diplomatic means, and the missionaries were powerless to quell the strife they had raised, civil war became inevitable.

In January 1837 the Christian party took up arms with the avowed object of suppressing a rebellion, and met a body of the heathen near Bea, defeating them. "The heathen party could put more fighting men into the field, and Tubou therefore sent to Taufaahau for reinforcements from Haapai. It was a missionary war—a crusade in which the club and the Bible were linked against the powers of darkness; and no knight-errant ever went

against the Crescent with greater zest than the new con- 175
verts showed in their quarrel with their heathen country- 797
men. By the middle of March the struggle was at an 798
end and peace was declared, but still neither party felt 669
safe outside of their intrenchments. The principal conditions imposed upon the heathen were that no person should be persecuted for his religion.

They did not long keep their undertaking. Both at 175
Hihifo and Bea the new converts were subjected to petty 797
annoyances that more than once drove them to arms 798
again, and goaded several to return to the gods of their forefathers. But the threatened renewal of civil war did not prevent the hostile parties from meeting on the
occasion of a great national festival. On the 14th of May [634]
1837, Tui Belehake, a chief of the family of the Tui Tonga,
married Charlotte, Taufaahau's daughter. At this mar- [622]
riage all the heathen chiefs attended and mixed with the Christian chiefs on friendly terms.[1]

One can sympathise with the feelings of the heathen 175
chiefs. The new religion, they saw, would soon destroy 797
622
the little power that remained to them. It was introduced 628
by foreigners, and was being forced on them by their hereditary 578
enemies of Haapai and Vavau, who made it an excuse for plundering their homes, just as they had done in their annual raids before the Christian religion had been

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[1] This event enables us to fix the king's age with some degree of proba- [643]
bility. Taking King George to have been twenty-five years old at the
time of Charlotte's birth (for he had a son older than Charlotte), and her
age at marriage to have been at least seventeen, King George must have
been born in 1797. Charlotte's grandson, Taufaahau, succeeded King [644]
George in March 1893. She died at Nukualofa in August 1891, after her return from exile for adherence to the Wesleyan Church.

175 even heard of among them. It was a foreign religion, and
797 it aimed at destroying their influence over their people
623 628 and substituting that of a foreigner; therefore they, as
578 Tongans, would resist it to the death.

175 In 1839 it was reported that a plot to assassinate the king
798 had been discovered. The storm-clouds were gathering
669 thick, but still they did not break. In January 1840 King Josiah Tubou paid a friendly visit to Ata in Hihifo, and some of Ata's followers took that opportunity for attacking and killing a party of Christians in their plantations. This outrage being a declaration of war, a strong party was at once despatched from Nukualofa to bring the king to a place of safety. The heathen party invested Fou'i, and Tubou, knowing that the fall of Fou'i would be the signal for an attack upon Nukualofa, sent a fast-sailing canoe to Haapai to implore Taufaahau's help. When he arrived it was arranged that he should meet the enemy and submit terms of peace to them. A deserter from the enemy met him on the way to the meeting, and warned him that a plot had been formed to shoot him from an ambush as soon as he reached the appointed place. He at once returned to Nukualofa, and advanced upon Hihifo with all his forces. After investing the place for nearly a fortnight he had recourse to a curious stratagem. When civil war breaks out in Tonga, it is the custom for each man to fight on the side of the people with whom he happened to be staying on the outbreak of hostilities. Thus brothers often find themselves ranged against one another. He now ordered such of his men as had relations or friends among the enemy to advance to the ditch and call upon his friend to desert, assuring him of safety. When this was done numbers of the

[1840]

besieged jumped over the wall and joined the besiegers, 175
leaving the garrison too weak to resist. Hihifo thus yielded 798
without the loss of a single life, and Taufaahau, true to 669
his promise, spared the lives of the 500 prisoners who fell
into his hands.

He now consented to take up his permanent quarters in [701]
Nukualofa with his army of 900 men and their families.
On April 20, 1840, an attack was made upon some stragglers
near Nukualofa. The Christians were upon the point [177]
of making reprisals when Commodore Wilkes of the United
States exploring expedition arrived, and offered his services
as mediator between the hostile parties. But his
efforts were frustrated by a fresh attack by the heathen,
and he left the island without effecting his object. Rightly 175
or wrongly, he formed the opinion that the missionaries 798 669
by their indiscriminating zeal had brought about the war, 797
and that King George Taufaahau was using the opportunity 643
to so increase his prestige as to secure his succession
to the office of the reigning king. Although the result of
the war was the advancement of the interests both of King
George and the missionaries, I see no reason to believe that
either were disinclined for peace. The worst that can be
said is that it was a missionary war, brought about by zeal
untempered with discretion, and that in this respect only
can the bloodshed be laid at the missionaries' door.

On the 21st May 1840 Captain Croker anchored at 175
Nukualofa in H.M.S. Favourite, and was appealed to by 177
the missionaries to help them out of their difficulties. He 798 669
landed half his ship's company, and advanced upon the
fortress of Bea with three field-pieces. The guns were
brought into position within range of the enemy's muskets,

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1840]

175 and Captain Croker entered the fort under a flag of truce.
177 The garrison were willing to listen to his terms, and he
778 left them with the understanding that they should have
669 half an hour to consult their allies. At the end of the time an English sailor, nicknamed Jimmy the Devil,[1] who was armourer to the heathen forces, appeared above the gate and asked for more time—indeed it afterwards transpired that they were upon the point of accepting the terms; but Captain Croker stood watch in hand, and upon the stroke of the half-hour he ran towards the gate crying, "Now, men, follow me." In the first volley from the fort he and several of his men were wounded, and as he leaned for support against a cocoa-nut-tree he was shot through the heart. Two of his officers were killed, and nineteen men wounded: the survivors succeeded with great difficulty in carrying off the injured, and they at once put to sea, taking with them the missionaries and their families. The field-pieces are still in the hands of the Tongans, and serve to keep green the memory of how they beat a British man-of-war.

The whole blame of this extraordinary incident, which has done so much to damage British prestige with the Tongans, must rest upon Captain Croker, who paid for his folly with his life. For becoming the aggressor in a quar-

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[1] There was more than one "Jimmy the Devil" in Tonga. A few months after the attack upon Bea, some of the blue-jackets were discussing the affair in a public-house in Sydney. A man sitting near, hearing the word Tonga, joined in the conversation, saying that he had been in the islands. "They called me 'Jimmy the Devil' down there," he added. The wretched man barely escaped from the blue-jackets with his life. They had mistaken him for the "Jimmy" who shot down their commander.

[1840-1845]

rel that did not concern him he may be excused—for, in the 175
excitement of the time, it is more than probable that the 177
missionaries greatly exaggerated their own danger, and 798
thus placed him in the position of a protector of British 669
interests; but for the gross incompetence and indiscretion
shown in leading the attack he must bear the sole responsibility.

The heathen party, having beaten off their assailants, 175
began to grow tired of the confinement of life within their 798
intrenchments, and readily accepted peace without the 669
imposition of terms on either side. The new converts, 175
with the doctrine of universal love ringing in their ears, 797
were now to learn something of Christian hate, and, to do 798
them justice, they made very apt pupils. In 1842 some
Roman Catholic priests landed and joined the heathen at
Bea, among whom they had as much right to be as the
Methodist missionaries who had failed to convert them.
The mutual recriminations of the rival teachers could not
leave their followers unaffected. Religious differences
among natives, fostered as they always are by their
spiritual guides, invariably lead to political troubles.
The heathen chiefs now asserted that they had a right [669]
to be independent, and that they would give asylum to [643]
any fugitive from the laws promulgated by the king.
The priests had set their followers in the road that
leads to civil war, and for the misfortunes that overtook
them they had only themselves to thank.

On November 14, 1845, King Josiah Tubou died. On 175
his deathbed he summoned Tungi, the representative of 643
the Tui Haatakalaua and the principal heathen chief, and 634
charged him to regard George Taufaahau as his succes-

[1845 - 1847]

175 sor. Perhaps his dying wishes would have failed to out-
643 weigh the claims of a competitor possessing higher influ-
[634] ence with the chiefs whose duty it is to elect the member
of the reigning family best fitted to succeed, but there was no such competitor. The two chiefs who had the nearest claims were Mumui, and Maafu, King Josiah's son; but as Tubou-toa's son and Tukuaho's grandson, Taufaahau's rights were unquestioned.

George Taufaahau went through the usual native form of disclaiming any desire to succeed; but resistance to the proffered honour is expected of every candidate. On December 4, 1845, the chiefs from all parts of the kingdom assembled in the time-honoured grove at Pangai in Hihifo, under the hoary *toa*-trees that had seen the royal cup placed in the hands of Ngata and his successors in lineal descent for two centuries, and whose roots had been watered with the blood of the avengers of the murdered Tukuaho in the great rebellion of 1799. The state kava-ring was formed; the two hereditary king-makers took their seats on either side of the king-elect; the kava was poured into the cup; the presiding *matabule* proclaimed that this was the kava of Taliai-Tubou, Tui Kanokubolu. George Taufaahau, the warrior, the chief of Haapai and Vavau, was no more; and George Tubou, the champion of the new faith, reigned over all Tonga as his fathers had reigned before him.

King George Tubou, as he will now be called, spent the
175 first years of his reign in cementing his authority. Signs
643 were not wanting that the heathen party had not accepted
669 the new order of things. In 1847 he decided to remove
798 his Court from Nukualofa to Haapai, as a warning to such
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[1847-1852]

of the chiefs of Tongatabu who had failed in their re- 175
spect towards him. He left Tongatabu under the govern- 643
ment of the two Hahavea chiefs,—Maafu and Lavaka of 669
Bea,—making them responsible for the maintenance of 798
peace. They, in common with the other chiefs, had 622
taken a pledge not to repair the fortifications of any of
the fortresses, and to punish the first chief who should
dare to disturb the peace. But as soon as he had left
the island they lost no time in repairing the earthworks
of Bea. When the news reached the king, he returned
to Tonga in a fleet of war-canoes, and summoned the ac-
cused chiefs to his presence. They strenuously denied the
charge of sedition, and renewed their assurances of loyalty.
But the king had scarcely returned to Haapai when
they began again to annoy their more loyal neighbours,
hoping to goad them into open resistance. The chiefs
now petitioned the king to return to Nukualofa, and in
July 1851 he acceded to their request. The rebel chiefs
now showed their intentions more clearly. They refused
to meet the king, and declared their intention of separ-
ating themselves from his Government. They had with [797]
them some French priests, who have been accused of
encouraging them in their resistance. In February 1852
the works of Bea were hurriedly restored, and a col-
lision became inevitable. The quarrel was again a ques-
tion of the new religion. The heathen had for a time
been allowed to follow their own inclinations; but in
1850 Tungi, the son of Maealiuaki, the most influential
of their party, joined the Christians, and they saw that
they must either follow his example and surrender their
influence, or take up arms in the defence of their in-

[1852]

175 dependence. They were the more ready to adopt the
643 latter alternative since the priests pointed out to them
798 669 that they would be surrendering not to King George—
622 that they had already done—but to the English missionaries,
who had become his Ministers of State as well as
of the Gospel.

175 Before finally taking the field, the king made an effort
643 to induce the priests to leave the rebels—for his foresight
797 told him that any injury they might sustain would afford
669 a pretext for the demands of a foreign Power for indemnity.
They refused, however, to leave the fort, probably feeling that the desertion of their friends on the approach of danger would destroy their prestige beyond repair. The courage they showed in braving the dangers of a siege by a stronger party, with the prospect of the horrors of savage victory at the close, compares favourably with the conduct of their rivals who fled the island in 1840, and deserves something better than the sneers that have been heaped upon them by the Wesleyan missionaries.

175 On March 1st the king distributed muskets among his
643 chiefs, and formally declared war. After two slight skirmishes,
669 a pitched battle was fought near Bea, with considerable
[713] loss on both sides, but without decisive result.
[725] On the 14th the Roman Catholic Bishop of Samoa arrived
[177] in a French ship-of-war to inquire into the cause of the
[797] war, and left again with the avowed intention of bringing
[701] help for the beleaguered priests from Tahiti. On the 12th
of April the king closely invested Bea, by throwing up four earthworks at different points of the fortification, garrisoning them with a total force of 10,000 men. He

[1852]

might probably have taken the place by assault, but for 175
some reason he hesitated from day to day in the hope that 643
the enemy would themselves sue for peace. 669

Houma meanwhile had resisted all Ata's efforts to carry it by storm, and the king's troops were driven to try the expedient of starving the garrison into submission. Early in July the Houma people sued for peace, and received the king's pardon, sitting before him with *ici*-leaves, emblematic of submission, hanging from their necks. Five weeks later a large ship was reported off the anchorage, and the king, supposing it to be the help promised to the enemy from Tahiti, prepared to assault Bea before the
French should have time to interfere. But she proved [177]
to be H.M.S. Calliope, commanded by Sir Everard Home, who offered his services to the king as mediator with
his enemies. Terms were again sent to the enemy by [728]
four chiefs of high rank,—that the lives of the entire garrison should be spared, on the condition that the fort should be given over to pillage and destruction. But the enemy distrusted the faith of the king's troops, and asked for one of the missionaries and the king's son as hostages
for their safety. To this the king would not consent, and 175
the negotiations threatened to break down when news 643
reached Nukualofa that the principal chiefs had left the 669
fortress, and that the royal forces were sacking the place. 727
The king, accompanied by Sir Everard Home, set off for Bea in hot haste, and traversed the four intervening miles almost at a run. They arrived just in time to prevent the victors, drunken with the excitement of rapine, from proceeding to outrage. The town was in flames, and the priests were threatened with rough treatment. By the

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1852]

175 king's efforts they were removed to a place of safety, and
643 their property was dragged out of their burning houses.
669 Lavaka, Maafu, and Tubouleva were pardoned, and they
[727] forthwith renounced both heathenism and the Christianity
[797] of the Roman Church, which the Protestant chronicler
[798] naïvely classes together. Thus ended the second Wesleyan
[797] crusade, and Protestantism, sustained by the musket
and the club, was again triumphant.

175 177 643 In the following November the long-expected help from Tahiti arrived in the person of Captain Belland of the Imperial frigate Moselle. A formal inquiry was held to investigate the charges brought by the priests and the captain of a French whaler; and the French commander, while acquitting the king of responsibility for any injury sustained by the priests, warned him against allowing his zeal to blind him to the right of his subjects to entire freedom of conscience. In closing the inquiry he said to the interpreter, "Tell him that I have known many chiefs in the South Seas, but I have never met his equal."

175 643 Relieved of his anxieties at home, King George had now the leisure to consider his long-cherished scheme of travelling abroad. More than once in his youth he had almost yielded to a temptation to ship before the mast in one of the passing whalers that made Tonga their annual port of call. Had he done so, the history of his country would have been different, but he was reserved for higher things.

175 643 648 669 167 His mind naturally turned to Fiji, where a new kingdom had been unexpectedly won for him. The number of Tongans settled in Fiji had grown into a standing menace to the peace of Tonga. Any disaffected chief might recruit an army of free-lances there, well trained in

[1848]

arms, and return to Tonga as an invader. The only safe- 175
guard against this was to set a chief over them who would 643
find an outlet for their restless energy in Fiji itself. Fiji 648
would be, moreover, a vent for the disaffection of a num- 669
ber of his own subjects, who would be glad enough to 167
become exiles with the brilliant prospect of conquest and
booty before them. The man lay ready to hand. Maafu, 175
the son of his predecessor, had all the qualities for a leader 648
of such an expedition. He had, besides, a strong claim to 721
the succession, and would be made the figurehead of any [669] [644]
rebellion that might be launched against the throne by
the heathen party. An expedition was soon fitted out,
and early in 1848 Maafu, at the head of a strong and
numerous following, set sail for Lakemba. During the
next five years he fought his way into the supremacy of
the whole of the Lau group, wresting the power from the
hands of Tui Nayau, and vesting the lands in his principal
followers. Maafu, accustomed to the Tongan system of 175
land tenure, did for Fiji what the British Government 648
has never had the courage to do. He cut the Gordian
knot of boundary disputes by dividing out the communal
lands into small individual holdings, and securing them
to the grantees with a strong hand. He did not, more-
over, allow his Fijian subjects to alienate an inch of
land to Europeans except on lease. He was a student
of history. Asked by what right he divided the lands
of the Fijians, he replied sardonically, "I am King
William—William the Conqueror!" Having established 175
settled government upon the Tongan model, he turned 648
his eyes westward, and threatened the powerful chieftain- 721
cies of Bau, Thakaundrove, and Mathuata. The cession

[1853]

175 of Fiji to England reduced him from the position of an
648 independent viceroy to that of a pensioner of the British
721 Government. Deprived of all stimulus to activity, he
became demoralised, took to drink, and died in 1380.

175 Affairs stood thus when, in 1853, King George embarked
643 for Sydney in the mission brig John Wesley.
484 The ship dropped anchor at Bau, and King George met
177 Thakombau and formed the alliance that ultimately
648 brought about the annexation of the group by England.
The Fijian chief promised him the canoe Ra Marama, the largest craft afloat, if the king would visit him to bring her away. His power was already waning, and he hoped that his alliance with the Tongan king, whose name was become a terror throughout the group, would cow his enemy Ratu Mara.

175 Sydney made a deep impression upon George's mind.
643 His questions were unending. Nothing escaped him,
484 from the form of legislature to the uniforms of the policemen.
177 One fact, indeed, he lost no time in applying to his
423 own country, and to it is due the present independence of
609 the kingdom of foreign interference. European settlers
had already been pressing him to sell land to them, and he had resisted hitherto, feeling that it would give them a status in the country that would sooner or later affect his own independence. He now found that in Sydney land could be granted to a stranger without passing out of the hand of its real owner. He resolved that not a rood of Tongan land should be alienated except upon lease, and he kept his resolution.

175 On his return to Tonga he wrote to Thakombau the
643 letter that induced him to accept the missionaries' teach-
648
797

[1853]

ings which he had so long rejected, and he then made 175
his preparations for the visit he had promised. His fleet 643
consisted of thirty sail of double canoes, manned by many 648
hundreds of warriors. He had no intention of joining in [797]
any of the local wars, but he knew the necessity of being [701] [501]
independent of the protection of his host, whose power,
he knew, was not undisputed. From Moturiki he despatched a canoe to Ovalau, commanded by Tavake, one of his own relations. Before the canoe could reach the shore it was fired upon by the natives, who were at the time in alliance with Ratu Mara, Thakombau's revolted brother. Tavake was killed, and the canoe hastened back to the king with the news. The murderer could not be captured without a general attack upon Ovalau and a war with the whites, who sided with Mara, and would not surrender the murderer to any ally of Thakombau.
King George therefore resolved to join Thakombau in an 175
attack upon the fortress of Kamba on the mainland, where 643
the enemy were massed in force. Thakombau's fortunes 648 721
were now at the lowest ebb. If he failed in reducing Kamba, his fate was sealed. His enemies had hemmed him in; his vassals had revolted; even his own town, filled with his own relations, was against him, and in open communication with the enemy. His conversion to Christianity had alienated many of those who still clung to him, and his only hope lay in his Tongan allies.

On the 7th of April 1853 the allied armies landed on the peninsula. A party of Tongans was despatched to reconnoitre the fort, and they had scarcely left the main body when news came that they were engaged with the enemy. The rest of the Tongans advanced to the attack,

[1853]

175 dashed against the stockade, and after a few minutes'
643 hand-to-hand fighting the enemy were in full flight, and
648 Kamba, invincible to Fijian methods of warfare, was in
721 flames. None of their Fijian allies appeared until the
looting had begun. With the fall of Kamba the heart of
Mara's rebellion was crushed, and Thakombau recovered
his prestige. Had King George failed him, Bau would
have fallen, and the cession of the country to England,
which Thakombau brought about, might never have taken
175 place. Before leaving the group, King George made a tour
643 through some of the heathen islands to urge upon the
648 chiefs the adoption of Christianity. Traces of this ex-
[797] pedition may still be seen in the wavy seal-like hair of
some of the natives of Kandavu and Vatulele, who were
born shortly after the departure of the Tongans.

175 After settling the policy to be adopted by Maafu in
643 Lau, the king set sail for Tonga. He found the Governor
648 of Tahiti, M. du Bouzet, awaiting his return with a treaty
797 ready for his signature, which was so worded as to give
the French priests the fullest liberty of action. It was
then the policy of the Empire, as it is now of the Re-
public, to lend the Church the powers of the State abroad
while ignoring her claims at home.

175 To this point, in spite of the bloodshed the introduction
797 of Christianity had cost, the missionaries' influence had
642 been for good; but from the king's return from Fiji they
177 felt their position to be secure, and they began to abuse
178 their power by meddling in the affairs of the State. They
were burning with a desire for radical reform: they panted
to see their flock enjoying the sweets of constitutional
government. Mr St Julian, the King of Hawaii's Mayor

[1853-1862]

of the Palace, having persuaded his own patron to bow 175
down before the freedom-god, wrote a flattering letter to 797
the Tongan missionaries to enlist them in the same holy 642
cause. The king, to his credit be it said, long resisted, objecting 177 178
that his people were not ready for such reforms; [643]
that, though in Sydney it might be well to curtail the power of the chiefs, the Tongans would use their new liberty for the indulgence of their natural idleness. But in 1862 he was over persuaded, and a Constitution was granted which swept away the form of government which had taken centuries to elaborate, and substituted executive machinery on the English plan. A system evolved from centuries of experiment to suit the needs of Anglo-Saxons was forced in a single day upon a handful of ignorant Orientals, with whose inborn convictions it was in complete antagonism. The *Konisitutone* became thenceforth the fetish of the Tongan people. Most of them did not know what it was, but it had been introduced by the missionaries, and was intimately connected, they believed, with its outlandish fellow *Konisienisi* (Conscience), and in some mysterious way it elevated their country to the
level of one of the Great Powers. It was not until after [622]
the feasting and the speech-making and the ecstatic sermons [565]
of the black-coated missionaries that the chiefs had time to realise that they had sold their birthright for a sheet of vellum, and that their power was gone. It was a heavy price to pay for being *sivilaisi*.

The power of the missionaries was now at its height. 175
The king had no other advisers, and it was natural that he 797
should rely upon them. The early indifference to their [643]
teachings had given place to an almost hysterical en- [645]

175 thusiasm. They had scarcely to ask for contributions—
797 the emulation among their congregations filled the mission
oil-tanks—and they, too, began to be astonished at their
[645] own moderation. As the king's advisers they now began
[177] to dabble in politics. They designed a Royal Standard
[178] with doves and crossed swords, and other un-Polynesian
[291] devices; they ordered a Crown and a Great Seal; they
[714] taught the officers of State to pace the beach in English military uniforms; they encouraged the women to disfigure themselves with bonnets and European dress. They had laboured hard, and if they now complacently accepted the blind adoration of their flock, it was but human nature.

But there was one among the new converts who was less blind than his teachers. One of the missionaries was leaving the group, and the villages for miles round assembled to take leave of him. A vast pile of mats, cloth, and other native property was heaped up before the smiling clergyman: the excitement was hysterical. Tungi, the latest convert, was curiously watching the scene with a companion by his side. "Uiliame," he said, "do you remember how they treated Mr—— when he came, how they stole his things and insulted him, and do you see them now? They are dying of love for him, Uiliame; yet I think that you and I will live to see the time when their love will be turned into hate. This will not last for long, Uiliame; their minds are too hot." Uiliame remembered these words twenty years later, when he saw an angry crowd assembled outside the mission-house demanding the bodies of the native Wesleyans who had taken refuge there, and he told the story as a proof of

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OU9 Tonga OU9

Tungi's wisdom. But the missionaries had no misgivings. They had learned the fickleness of their people by bitter experience, but in the days of their apotheosis they forgot the law of reaction. 175 797

The first cloud was no bigger than a man's hand. For some years the contributions exceeded the needs of the Church in Tonga, and the people asked that the surplus might be spent among them, instead of being swallowed up by impecunious missions in other lands. The hesitation of the Wesleyan Conference in Australia in granting this very reasonable request gave birth to a desire for ecclesiastical self-government. The ignorant but self-effacing missionaries of the early days had made way for a very different stamp of man, not less ignorant, perhaps, but far better versed in the affairs of the world. The modern missionary was not called to the post owing to any inward conviction: he took up the work as he would any other profession, and he aimed at the aggrandisement of the Church of which he was a member, rather than the ultimate good of the people committed to his care. He saw that the moving spirit of the Tongan mind was display and emulation, and he skilfully adapted it to the needs of the collection-plate. [181] [156] The chairman was now Mr Baker, a plausible and not over-scrupulous man, half-educated, but possessed of considerable knowledge of the world. Little by little he brought the king to look to him for advice in secular matters. The secret of his influence was the king's fear of losing his independence. 175 797 643 Mr Baker worked upon this fear, representing England as only waiting for an opportunity to seize the country as she had done in Fiji. It was only by following his advice

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1876]

175 that these nefarious designs could be frustrated. He now
797 began to play into the hands of Germany, thinking that
643 he would flatter the king by negotiating a treaty with one
175 of the Great Powers. He approached the German Consul-
797 General in Samoa, and found him ready to treat with him
648 for a fair price—namely, the cession of a coaling-station
in the unequalled harbour of Vavau. On the 1st of November 1876 the native plenipotentiaries, with their reverend interpreter, proceeded to a German ship-of-war to sign the treaty that had been prepared for them. It was read, and when the passage about the coaling-station was reached Tungi objected that he would like to consult the king before signing such a clause, but the German commander sternly told him that it was all settled, and that it was too late to withdraw. So the treaty was signed, and the coaling-station ceded "without prejudice to the rights of sovereignty of the King of Tonga," and the "interpreter" received a decoration from the Emperor of Germany for the trouble he had taken in the matter.

I have now brought this sketch to the point of the
128 establishment of the Free Church, whence I have traced it
in the opening chapters of this volume. For those who have heard of King George only as a persecutor, or as a sovereign ruled by his own Minister, owe it to themselves and to his memory to give at least an equal prominence in their minds to the story of his early career.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

THINGS ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ooo ZOOLOGICAL

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THINGS ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ZOOLOGICAL.

It was the census year, and the law provided that the 659
Minister of Police should be responsible for numbering [625]
the people. His arrangements were somewhat primitive,
but I daresay that they produced more satisfactory results
than would the more elaborate machinery of our Registrar-General
if put into the hands of such workmen. Kubu
simply ordered his policemen to visit every village and
write down the names of the inhabitants. In a country
where every individual is personally known if not related
to the enumerator, not many omissions are likely to have
been made. The total census of the natives was 19,196. 161

The registers of the births and deaths for the previous [163]
ten years showed the population to be steadily decreasing,
not so much on account of excessive mortality as of a low
birth-rate. The death-rate (36 per mille), however, was high 161
when compared with European countries; and it would be 165
strange if it were not so, when it is remembered that the
arrival of Europeans has introduced the germs of many
diseases from which the natives were formerly free, and
to which they are therefore not yet inured. Chiefly de- 000

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OU9 Tonga OU9

164 Chiefly destructive among these are dysentery and whooping-cough, both of them unknown to the Tongans before the advent of European ships. But apart from bacilli of actual foreign diseases, there is now no doubt that the different races of men are themselves uncongenial, and that their first meeting generates a mysterious poison fatal to the weaker race. In the Pacific, Tahiti, Niue (Savage Island), and Penrhyn Island in particular were swept by a destructive epidemic immediately after the visit of the first European ship, though the visitors were not themselves suffering from any such ailment at the time. Such disasters have led the natives of some of the islands to adopt a murderous system of quarantine, and the loss of many lives has been the result. Tonga, however, seems to have been spared this penalty that attaches to the "blessings of civilisation," unless the tradition of an epidemic following Tasman's visit has been lost. The first sickness preserved by tradition is the *ngangau* (lit. headache), a new disease that ravaged the group about the year 1776, but which was not associated in the natives' minds with the visit of [165] Captain Cook three years before. Of this many hundreds are said to have perished.

I do not believe that the population of Tonga ever 161 greatly exceeded 20,000. It is true that the natives have [361] traditions of a time when the king's orders could be shouted from house to house as the people lay on their mats; but I think that this refers to the time when each family lived in its own plantation instead of in villages,—a state of things that was observed by Tasman in 1643. Cook estimated the people present at the entertainment given to him at Maofanga in June 1777 at 10,000, the

present population of Tongatabu. Since that time the 161
population has been either stationary or decreasing—
slightly under normal circumstances, rapidly in time of
epidemic. In 1893 the measles and the diseases consequent 164
upon it carried off one-twentieth of the people. 165
In the absence of such severe visitations whooping-cough 164
is the most destructive of the introduced diseases. The 757
mothers lack the knowledge and the self-devotion required
to successfully nurse their children through such illnesses,
and content themselves with calling in one native
quack after another to dose the unfortunate child with a
succession of nostrums until death puts an end to its
sufferings.

For the low birth-rate there are several reasons. In 163
ancient times the women were required to do no work 462
beyond the light occupations of fishing and cloth-beating.
The men planted the food, carried in the wood and
water, and did the cooking. The missionaries have so 797
industriously cultivated the idea of family life that in 593
most Tongan households the women, after marriage, do the 178
same work as the wives of the peasantry in Europe. In
other respects they have greater liberty than under the
heathen system. Formerly a girl's hair was cropped short 885
at about twenty, and she was thenceforward classed as 302
an old woman (*fefine motua*). No woman of mature age 582
could then masquerade in the guise of a young girl, and
there was no inducement to defer marriage and the cares
of maternity; for the woman who aspired to be younger
than her years had no peace from the sneers of her contemporaries.
This is all changed. Under the grim social 178
code of the missionaries, by a mockery of fate, a laxer 582

178 moral tone allows a girl to prolong her independence to
582 the limit set by time to her attractions, and she finds life
so amusing that she defers marriage until the last possible
844 bridegroom has left her for a younger generation. Even after marriage she is at a disadvantage as compared with her grandmother, who could count in childbed upon the help of her female relatives, according to certain fixed rules, instead of having, as now, to receive help as a favour only. These reasons and the increased skill of the women in forbidden forms of surgery tend to a decrease in the birth-rate. To those who would know more of this subject, I commend the Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the decrease of the native race in Fiji, 1893. The report, besides being interesting, is of high anthropological value.

[181] Though the Tongans are vastly particular about outward modesty, they cannot truthfully be described as an over-sensitive people. We halted one day for lunch in a small village at the back of Tongatabu. The house was filled with the notables of the place, and the children stared at us six deep through the crevices in the reed walls. There was a sudden cry of *fuele!* and in a few seconds we were left alone in the house. The children dashed off at the first cry, and after a decent interval our hosts made excuses one after another to leave the house. From the doorway I saw the whole population of the village thronging into a hut on the opposite side of the square. It was a birth.

A Tongan mother is delivered in a reclining posture, supported in the arms of her husband. There is no privacy,—the whole village is present. There is always a

There is always a
"wise woman" officiating, generally one of the hereditary 844
sisterhood, but sometimes an old woman who had adopted 759
the profession from choice, and is consequently looked
down upon as an interloper and a quack. The fees, given [465]
in kind, are high when the poverty of the donors is considered—*ngatu* and mats to the value of 30s. or more.
The "wise woman" receives the child on a tiny mat 844
specially plaited for the occasion. If it is a boy, the
umbilicus is severed on a digging-stick to make him a
good cultivator; if a girl, on a *ngatu*-mallet to make
her a good beater of cloth. The child is then washed and [853]
rubbed over with oil and turmeric, a small quantity of
candle-nut and cocoa-nut juice is forced into its mouth to
make it vomit, and for the first two days it is fed by
hand upon cocoa-nut-milk, or suckled by another woman,
because at that early stage the mother's milk is believed
to be insufficient and unwholesome. During the first 846
month the child's grandmothers, or its unmarried aunts,
are told off to supply the mother with food and look after
the house, and the mother is spared all exertion. It
would be better for her and the child if at this stage
she were also deprived of kava and tobacco. Before the 853
missionaries had inculcated family life on the European
plan, the native social system recognised a physical
peculiarity in Tongan women, and insisted upon the
seclusion of the mother during the whole period of lactation in order to avoid a second gestation within too short
a period of the birth, and consequently the premature
weaning of the first child. As in Japan, the time of
suckling was prolonged until all the teeth had come; for
the Tongans have no good substitute for the mother's

853 milk, and could only give the children taro, yam, or fish
as the first food after weaning. The change in this system
of family separation is the cause most commonly quoted
by the natives for the high mortality among children.

181 I have said that the Tongans are sticklers for propriety
in appearances. In some respects, however, they share
with the other Polynesian peoples a gross lack of delicacy.
585 Ancient custom still constrains the elderly female relations
of the bridegroom to go home with the married pair and
stay with them until they are in a position to prove to the
other relations that the marriage is satisfactory, and that
the dower is therefore due.

186 All the weaknesses of pride of race that we laugh at in
ourselves, and feel none the less keenly, may be studied
186 among these other islanders of the antipodes. There is a
167 Tongan colony in Fiji, the children of the army of occu-
829 pation taken over by Maafu in 1848. The real Tongans
patronise their colonials, and speak of them behind their
backs as barbarians, ignorant of the usages of polite society.
The colonists affect to ridicule the Tongan aristocracy as
effete and effeminate, and envy them in secret, bestowing
on them the involuntary flattery of imitation. A Tongan
colonist who has been to Nukualofa and conversed with
the great of the earth returns home to be a nuisance to
his fellows, who try to disguise their feeling of inferiority
by disparagement of the intercourse which they so much
envy. Thus, as between the English and the Australians,
a gulf is gradually being fixed between the Tongans of
186 Tonga and Fiji. Not less instructive is the feeling
829 between the Tongans and the Fijians. While affecting
648 to despise the Fijians for their want of refinement, the

Tongan chief, stripped of his wealth and influence by his 186
new-fangled communism, secretly envies the authority 829
which his Fijian neighbour has been too wise to sur- 648
render: the Fijian chief, though full of contempt for the
leaning towards foreign customs that has reduced the
Tongan chief to poverty, tries hard to imitate his air of
superior refinement. The Tongan chief likes nothing
better than to be entertained by a great chief in Fiji, and
feel again vicariously the glories of his lost estate, and eat
taro, and hear the murmur of running water, both luxuries
unknown in his own dry country. The Fijian loves to
have such guests, and show them off to his neighbours as
proof of the wide range of his influence. So each reflects
glory on the other. They are ridiculously shy of one
another. While Tukuaho was paying a visit to me in 186
Auckland, Ratu Lala, the Tui Thakau, came from Fiji 829
to make a tour through the Australian colonies. The 648
two chiefs, on the ground of their relationship through 123
a common ancestress, were very anxious to meet, and
they both besought me to bring about the introduction.
Tukuaho spoke excellent Fijian, and Ratu Lala is no [191]
less fluent in Tongan, but to my astonishment I found
that I was expected to act as interpreter between them.
Their conversation was complimentary and formal.
Tukuaho reminded his Fijian relative of the romantic
legend that connected their families. Ratu Lala pressed
him to make the bond closer by paying him a visit.
They were both so painfully shy that even this stilted
conversation would have been impossible unless I had
stayed to interpret their languages to each other.

I have spoken already of the music and poetry of the 533
538

533 present day. As in most primitive countries, both words
538 and music are the work of the same hand. The modern
177 music has adopted the harmonies and cadence of the
European compositions which the composers have heard,
but it retains a distinctly native character, widely different
though it is from the form of the ancient melodies.
The songs are all sung in four-part chorus without accompaniment.
538 The poetry is uninteresting in that it generally
treats of scenery and flowers, seldom of the drama
of life, never of the drama of love.

538 Of traditionary poetry little remains. The admirable
173 efforts of the Rev. J. E. Moulton came too late to rescue
the stores of legendary lore that passed away with the
advent of Christianity, but the purely historical traditions
that have been rescued, and which form the basis for the
early history of the people, may be relied upon as having
000 been correctly handed down. I had a curious instance
of the durability of tradition. While conducting the
native newspaper in Fiji, I took some trouble to collect
and preserve the fragments of historical poetry that were
still remembered, and invited contributions from the
whole native community. At the same time I sent to
press some fragments that were published in a missionary
book about 1860. Among the contributions received in
response to my appeal was a poem of the murder of
Koroitamana (*circa* 1825). It had been gathered from
the mouth of a very old woman of Bau. My native subeditor
recognised it as being the same as one of the fragments
from the missionary book, and brought me the
printer's proof. Here, then, was an opportunity of comparing
versions of the same poem taken thirty-three years

apart. The poem contained five or six stanzas of ten 000
lines, and in all these there were but two differences of
one word each.

The ancient monuments of Tonga have an interest of 349
their own, since they are the rare efforts of a people who 342
build their houses and temples of materials no more en-
during than grass. The tombs of the Tui Tonga, described 349
by so many travellers, are in the ordinary form of the 764
Polynesian *malae*, a quadrilateral mound faced by huge 643
blocks of stone, rising sometimes in terraces to a height of [71]
20 feet. From the account left to us by the first mission-
aries of the funeral of Mumui in the year 1797, we know
that each of these mounds contains in its exact centre the
body of a dead king. The tombs are now so overgrown
with forests that it is almost impossible to photograph
them. Banyan-trees have sprouted on the terraces, and
have bored their roots into every crevice, covering the
stones with a lacework of tendrils which, year by year,
force great blocks asunder, till the form of the terraces is
almost obliterated. I tried to persuade a leading man of [784]
Mua to clear away the forest and preserve the tombs; but
I found that even in these days the tradition of the *tabu*
is strong enough to make this a sacrilege. The rule was, [769]
that after a body was laid to rest, Nature should be allowed
to shroud it from the vulgar gaze, and that no foot should
trample the hallowed ground until the death of a successor.
When this happened, the people reverently cleared the
whole ground, and built a new tomb, and practised the
extraordinary funeral rites that have been so minutely de-
scribed by Mariner. But now that the office of Tui Tonga
has been abolished, the tombs will never again be cleared

349 until their site has been forgotten by posterity, or they
[764] have themselves crumbled away into a shapeless mound.

[643] Besides these tombs, there is an older monument concerning which no tradition has been preserved. It stands upon land which is the peculiar property of the Tui Tonga, at a spot perhaps two furlongs from the beach. It consists of two upright monoliths of hardened coral, neatly squared, and across them rests a similar stone mortised into their summits. Each of these stones must weigh at least fifty tons. I climbed them and found upon the top of the cross [643] stone a cup-like depression, very carefully cut. The only tradition preserved, is that the stones are the property of the Tui Tonga, and are called Haamonga, but their meaning is now forgotten. I carefully examined the surrounding ground for a sign of excavation, but there was none; yet I believe that one may argue from analogy that these stones were set on end by inclined planes of earth as heavy house-posts are sometimes raised to this day. Probably Stonehenge and all the similar monoliths of 000 primitive peoples were raised in the same way. It once fell to my lot to build a native house which was to gratify the natural vanity of the mountaineers in Fiji by surpassing all other houses in size and magnificence. The main posts were enormous logs of *vesi*, a timber heavier than oak, and each of them must have weighed more than ten tons. I had the holes dug to receive them, and lined them with two feet of stones to prevent the trees from driving farther into the earth than the measured depth. Then I borrowed some strong tackle-blocks and ropes, and summoned all the able-bodied men of the district to help in lifting them. I carefully explained

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

the use of the tackle, and tried to get them into their places; but a council of elders sat on the case, and flatly declined to use it. There was only one way, they said, of raising heavy weights, and that was the way of their fathers. What could one lone white man do against an army of pig-headed ancestor worshippers? I gave in and watched them. They spent the first day in getting stout logs with forked tops. With these they built a solid platform sloping upwards to a height of 15 feet above the holes. Then they fastened strong vines to the end of the logs, and rolled them to the base of the inclined plane. Butt-end first, they dragged them inch by inch along the platform—100 men on either vine—until the logs lay at length horizontal, with their bodies projecting over the platform, above the hole. Then the council of elders sat on them, literally and metaphorically, and had them shifted an inch or two to the side. When they were satisfied, two men with axes hacked at the logs that formed the end of the platform. One by one these snapped, until, as the supports were cut away, the great butt-end overbalanced, and the huge log began to tip up. Its head rose to an angle of 45°, and then with a crash and a deep thud it shot down into the hole, and then men swarmed up and fastened vines to its summit by which it was easily hauled into position. I must say, in parenthesis, that I was unlucky enough to intervene at this juncture with my block-and-tackle. I made it fast to a cross-beam lashed to two trees, but no sooner had my twenty men begun to strain upon the rope than the beam snapped like a watch-spring, and swept the council of elders into the hole; so that, until this accident is for- 000

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

000 gotten, the primitive method of raising weights is likely to prevail in that district. I asked the old men what they did with heavier weights still, and they immediately answered, "We make the platform of earth, and dig it away to make the log tip up." No doubt, when the log or stone is on end, they dig away the platform, throwing the earth into its old position, so that no trace remains. Having seen the whole process, I shall continue to believe that Stonehenge was built like this, until some one offers a better explanation.

349 [773] [823] There is a legend that the Haamonga stones were brought by the god Maui in a gigantic canoe from Uea (Wallace Island), and that you may see there great holes in the rock whence they were quarried. A European even assured me that the stone is of a kind not found [135] in Tonga at all. This part of the story at least is not true, for the stone is mere coral, hardened by exposure, of exactly the same quality as the reef close by.

136 In discussing the peculiarities of man I have altogether neglected the lower animals in Tonga. The only indigenous mammals were a small field-rat, a fruit-eating bat [224] [526] or flying fox, and a small cave-bat. The rat, having no enemies but man, swarmed throughout the islands: so numerous were they that it was a chieflike sport to shoot them in the paths with a bow and arrow. They have almost vanished now before the cats, dogs, and their voracious Norway cousin, and rat-shooting is now as extinct as bear-baiting in England.

[231] [177] The first foreign arrival was of course the pig. It is a popular fallacy that Captain Cook, among his other benefi-

cent actions, introduced the pig into the islands of the 231
Pacific. It would be questionable whether, if he had done 177
so, he would have deserved the gratitude of posterity; for [136]
the pig, in his *rôle* of universal scavenger, adds to the
insanitary state of the village when alive, and when dead
disagrees with his owners. For he was never an article [262]
of common diet, being killed only on occasions of cere-
mony, and then eaten to excess. So far from taking pigs
to Tonga, Cook called there to obtain them in order to
preserve his crew from the scourge that wrecked so many
other expeditions, the scurvy. One hundred and thirty
years before Cook's visit Tasman exchanged iron for pigs
at Hihifo. But pigs had not then reached all the islands.
Penrhyn was without them; and tradition tells of a time
when even Fiji, so rich in all else, knew not the taste of
pork. The story comes from Samoa, and its very inco- 000
herence seems to stamp it as having a core of true metal
within its thick coating of alloy:—

"Many generations ago, when the world was still young, the crops in Upolu failed, and there was a great famine. And a man, who had a daughter married to the chief of Tutuila, called his son to him and said, 'The people are dying of hunger, and beside these two pigs we have naught to eat. If we kill these the neighbours will come in and take the meat from us, and afterwards we shall all perish together. But I have heard that in thy sister's land, in Tutuila, there is yet plenty. Now go to her and ask her for shelter for me and thy mother and thy brothers who made her marriage-feast for her, for we would live with her until there be again plenty in Upolu.'

000 "So the young man launched his canoe and sailed for his sister's village. It chanced that on that day the men of the village had taken a great haul of fish from the reef, and were laying it upon the beach to be shared out among the households. And as the canoe drew near, and the girl recognised her brother, she cried to the men to hide the fish in the house, 'lest these hungry ones take all!' And when her brother landed she said, 'Alas! that you seek relief from a fasting land. The famine with us is more grievous than with you.'

"Now the youth had seen the men hiding the fish as his canoe approached the shore, and he returned and told all to his father. There was bitter grief that day in their house when they knew that the daughter had treated them as strangers, and the old man would not be comforted, but said, 'If we are strangers, let us be strangers indeed.' So he made ready his canoe, and they prepared to leave their land for ever. They took with them the people of their house and their two hogs and food for four days, and sailed towards the west, caring not whether they reached a land or no. On the fourth day they reached Fiji, and beached their canoe on an uninhabited part of the shore. They let their hogs go in the bush and came to the village of the chief, who entertained them for many days. This people had no hogs, but when they made their feasts human flesh was the *thöi* (relish) of the yams. When they had dwelt there many months misfortune began to follow the chief's warriors. Many were slain and eaten of the enemy, and the chief had not tasted the flesh of men. Then the priests, speaking the voice of the gods, said that the strangers were bringing disaster upon the warriors, and that only if they were killed and eaten 000 would the doom of the tribe be averted. When the young Samoan heard this he took counsel with his father, and went to the chief and said, 'If I find thee a sweeter dainty than the flesh of men, will you spare our lives?' And the chief said Yes, for he thought that he knew all the foods that were in his island. So the youth went into the bush that now swarmed with hogs, the offspring of those he had set free there, and took a young hog and baked it secretly and presented it to the chief with due ceremony. And when the chief tasted it he was transported with delight, and swore that no more men should be eaten in his island as long as there were hogs to eat; and he felt a great gratitude towards the Samoan strangers, and would refuse them nothing. And they, being now weary of life in this barbarous country, asked a boon of him that he would give them a canoe, and let them depart to their own land. And when this was granted they asked that they might load her with all things necessary for a long voyage; and the chief granted them all kinds of provisions except hogs, for he would not allow any of this precious food to be removed from the country. But when they still entreated, he granted that they might take with them one cooked hog, but no live ones, lest they should give the animals to any of his enemies. So they killed a very large hog, and disembowelled it, and caught a sow big with young, and sewed up the living sow in the belly of the dead hog, and so carried them both to the canoe; for they rightly judged that in the famine the people of their land of Upolu had destroyed all the hogs. So they sailed, and reached their land in safety with the sow still living;

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

000 and there was great rejoicing, for there were no hogs in the island. And from this sow was the whole island replenished."

231 177 192 Some writers have remarked upon the Polynesian word for pig—*puaka* or *vuaka*—as being a proof that the pigs were first introduced by the Portuguese. There are, however, other words of Melanesian origin for the animal in Fiji—*nngō* and *rore*—that show the animal to have been known in the Pacific by others than the Malayo-Polynesians. It is most probable that the name is a mere coincidence, and that the people brought their pigs to the Pacific with them. The name may even be onomatopœic.

231 [136] The pig of the Pacific is long-snouted, humpbacked, lean, and out-at-elbows. He seems to have forgotten such of the decencies as may be traditionary among his civilised cousins, and will eat putrid flesh and other things that are unmentionable. He is, besides, stricken with a deep melancholy, from which neither the sunshine nor the cloud of flies in which he passes his existence can rouse him.

235 [171] Domestic poultry must also have come to the Pacific with the ancestors of the present Polynesians. The Tongan name *moa* and the Fijian *toa* are of course onomatopœic. The Maories, already possessing the word to denote domestic fowls, applied it to the great wingless birds they saw on their arrival in New Zealand; for the *moa* in their eyes was simply a hen on a gigantic scale.

231 177 192 The cat was probably the next arrival, and its native name is proof-positive that it was introduced by a person who called it "pussy," therefore an Englishman. In an

ancient poem celebrating one of the earliest visits of a 231
European ship, an unsuspecting cat has been handed down 177
to posterity as sitting on the fo'csle:— 192

"Pusi ka tiko e mua ni wanga."

To the native poet it was the most remarkable feature of the ship. In Tonga it is *pusi*, in Fiji *vusi*, and, by metathesis, *lusi*. If the Polynesians had brought their cats with them, we should no doubt find that, like the ancient Egyptians, they called it *miau*. As for "puss," has not a living writer remarked that the god Pasht had a cat's head?

Then came the dogs. The name *kuli* has given rise to a popular delusion that the first dog was a colley, but this satisfying theory will not withstand the fact that the accent of the native name falls on the ultimate, and that dogs were called *kuli* as early as 1777, before sheep-dogs were generally known as colleys, the dogs in the Pacific at that date being not colleys at all. The more ancient Fijian name for dog is *tui*, but the word *kuli* is in use in all parts of that group that have been affected by
Tongan immigration. Captain Cook found no dogs in 231
Tonga in 1773, but on his return four years later he 177
136
noticed numbers of dogs, "commonly of a sallow colour, small and pretty, nearly resembling the Pomeranian dog," which the natives declared they had lately obtained from Fiji. Whence the Fijians acquired them will now never be known; but, since the dingos or native dogs of Australia and New Guinea are very unlike the animals described by Cook, it seems probable that they are late introductions, landed from some vessel the tradition of

231 whose visit has now been forgotten. Vessels from Manilla
177 and the East Indies probably visited Vannalevu for sandalwood at intervals throughout the eighteenth century,
recording their visit in their log-book, but not thinking it
worth while to report their discoveries on their return to
port. In one of these the first dogs may have been landed.
It is perhaps safe to assume that animals whose names
are onomatopœic are indigenous, and that those that are
called by a corruption of a foreign name are recent intro-
000 ductions. A curious instance of the latter kind of nomenclature is to be found in Rotuma and the Gilbert Islands,
where a dog is called a *kamia*, the elegant native conversion of the homely "Come 'ere" with which the first dog
was addressed by his illiterate master. The natives fled
in terror from the new monster, and the sailor called it
off, little thinking that he was adding a new word to the
language of the island.

Little less curious is the origin of the Fijian name for
231 cattle. The first cattle brought to Tonga were presented
177 by Cook to Finau at Haapai. The two animals were
192 pointed out to him as a bull and a cow (*bulu mo kau*).
000 When they were afterwards shown to the Fijians, whose
conjunction is not *mo*, the names were taken to be one
word; and thenceforward all cattle, irrespective of sex,
were called *bulumokau*, the sex being distinguished by
suffixing the words for male or female. The ridiculous
word is applied even to beef, and by the Melanesian
servants domiciled in Fiji to mutton, when qualified by
231 the word *sipi* (sheep). The Tongans have now forgotten
192 the *kau*, and speak only of the *bulu*, adding the words
tagata or *fefine* to denote the sex. Thus with them a cow

is a female bull (*koe bula fefine*). D'Entrecasteaux, who 231
visited Tonga fourteen years after Cook, found that the 192
existence of the cattle left by that navigator was so far 231
forgotten that the natives did not know which island they 177
were on, if indeed they were alive at all. They were then
spoken of as *puaka tute* (Cook's pigs). Cook himself
records the fact that the new animals excited but little
interest. This indifference still survives in the unwilling- 231
ness of the people to keep cattle, in spite of the excellent
pasture in the island and the large profits to be made from
the sale of milk. Almost every Tongan owns a horse;
scarcely half a dozen keep cows. A cow cannot be ridden, [181]
and it must be watered and milked with absolute regularity
or it will run dry; and of all the products of civilisation,
regular routine is the most hateful to the Polynesian.

I have spoken elsewhere of horses. The ancestors of [177]
the present breed were brought from New Zealand some [232]
forty years ago, but through promiscuous breeding they
have dwindled to the size of the American mustang,—
hard wiry ponies, without either mouth or paces, full of
tricks and ill-temper, but capable of covering immense
distances without fatigue. They vary in price from a [435]
few shillings to £7 or £8. The Government might easily
have improved the breed by making gelding compulsory,
or by enforcing the horse-tax; as it is, the country is
overrun with wretched beasts, covered with sores, whose
only use is to keep the grass short. I remember one [351]
of the police magistrates applying to the Government
for an impounded horse,—"not that I may ride it, but
because I am old, and there is no one to weed my
enclosure."

231 137 One result of the introduction of horses has been the almost entire destruction of the bread-fruit-tree throughout Tonga. The glutinous sap is irresistible to horses, and they greedily tear off the bark as far up the trunk as they can reach, of course killing the tree.

231 492 The men ride like centaurs, but, unlike centaurs, they have no hands. As a consequence, the Tongan pony has no mouth. Almost as soon as the boys can walk they are galloping barebacked, with no bridle but a rope knotted round the horse's nose. Grown men generally use a saddle of some kind without girths or surcingle, [562] and too often without stuffing. The women have not yet taken to riding like their cousins in Hawaii, who have even converted the European women of the place to trousers and a man's saddle.

231 825 The people are as cruel to their animals as the Egyptian donkey-boys. A sore back is never thought a reason for sparing a horse. I have seen ponies returning from the plantations in the evening with a basket of yams slung on either side with a sinnet cord, which was cutting deep into a bleeding raw on the withers. I stopped the man and tried to convince him of his brutality. He was simply incapable of comprehending the idea of cruelty to animals,—an idea which, after all, is only found among the stricter Buddhists and the Anglo-Saxons, and with the latter is but the growth of a single century.

493 [491] The wheel traffic of Tonga has increased enormously. Every man who can afford it has a cart, the richer natives American buggies. In wet weather the wheels cut the soft grass-roads into rivers of mud, in which the wheels are logged to the axle-trees. On such roads the heaviest

cart is noiseless, and so after nightfall they are compelled 493 by law to carry a light. The law is satisfied by the economical expedient of a smouldering brand, visible no farther than a lighted cigar.

There is little bird-life in the islands, but two of the 136 species show remarkable peculiarities. The *kaka*, a green parrot common to all the islands of Fiji, is in Tonga confined to the little island of Eua. Though tame parrots [235] have been taken across the narrow strait that separates Eua from Tongatabu, and have escaped in the larger island, they have never bred there. Wallace has recorded the fact that land-birds will not cross a deep-water strait, however narrow; but no one has offered a plausible explanation of the arrival of the *kaka* in Eua without touching at Tongatabu. The Eua species differs slightly from the green parrot of Fiji.

Stranger still is the presence of the megapodius (*malao*) in Niuafoou (Boscawen Island), which, if one may judge from the absence of a fringing reef and the volcanic nature of the soil, is of more recent formation than the others. It is covered with the large mounds in which this energetic little bird lays its eggs, leaving them to be hatched by the sun if they be fortunate enough to escape the eyes of the people or the pigs of the place. These eggs, enormous [262] when compared with the size of the bird, have been for centuries regarded as a delicacy of Tongatabu, and have been exported thither in every canoe sailing southward during the breeding season. I was told (with what [235] truth I know not, for I tried it and failed) that the eggs thus taken to Tongatabu are often hatched artificially and the young *malao* reared. The jungle of the southern

136 islands differs little from that of Niuafoou. Whence comes it, then, that a bird so hardy in its breeding arrangements should be confined to that one small island? and how is it that a bird whose eastern limit is the Solomon Islands should be found in Polynesia at all, after skipping all the intermediate islands of Melanesia? If it was brought thither by man, of what strange story of the migration of races is it the only surviving record? This is not Nature's only caprice in respect of this strange bird. Its enormous egg, its untiring industry in mound-building, its unnatural indifference to its young, its wariness on foot, and its wonderful stupidity when forced to take to flight, give to it and its allied species an exclusive 000 position among birds. The natives of New Guinea catch and tame the young by the simple expedient of building a fence round the mound. The little creatures, hatched by the warmth of the decaying leaves among which the mother lays them, scratch their way to the surface fully equipped for their fight with Nature, and are easily caught within the circle of the fence. In British New Guinea, where the megapodius was often our only animal food, it was some time before I learned the secret of shooting him. When he first sees you he runs like a pheasant, stopping every twenty yards or so to reconnoitre. You stalk him, but find that he always keeps a few yards out of shot, until you lose him altogether among the trees. The only way to make sure of him is to run after him as soon as he sees you. He then discovers that his legs are not fast enough, and reluctantly takes to wing, flaps awkwardly to the nearest bough, and there, secure in his commanding position, and proud of the

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

mighty effort he has made, he sits blinking at you until 000 you get within easy shot. This fatuous behaviour is not likely to bring about his extermination, for the natives of New Guinea prize his eggs so much as a delicacy that they are most unwilling to kill him.

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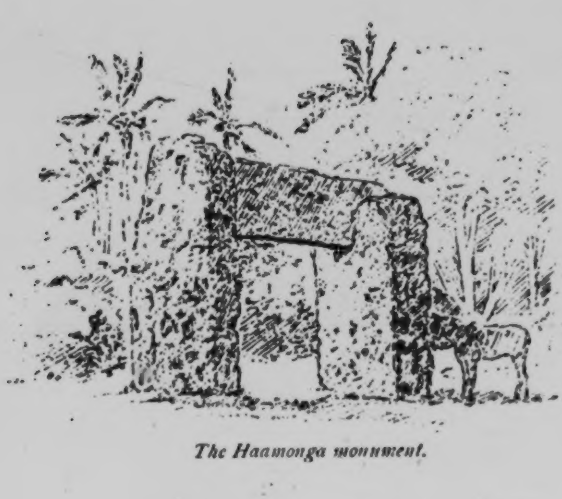

The Haamonga monument.

[p. 394 is blank]

APPENDIX.

I.—LIST OF THE TUI TONGA.

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(As given by Mr E. Tregear on the authority of the Rev. J. E. Moulton.)

Kohai and his descendants.
Then these were dispossessed, and there came to rule—
Ahoeitu, descendant of Tangaloa.
Lolo Fakanga-la.
Fanga-one-one.
Lihau.
5 **Kofu-tu.**
Kaloa.
Mauhau.
Abuanea.
Ahulunga.
10 **Momo.**
Tuitatui.
Talatama.
Tui-tonga-nui-tama-tou.
Tala-hala-abeabe, his brother.
15 **Tala-kai-fai-ki.**
Tala-fabi-te.

173 Havea-tui-tonga (Makaue tui-tonga i buibui).
643 Tata-fuu-eiki-mei-mua (Lomi ae tubu Havea).
175 Takalaua (murdered, *circa* 1535).
20 Kau-ulu-fonua Fekai.
Vaka Fuhu.
Buibui Fata.
Kau-ulu-fonua.
Tabuoji (flourished 1643, and entertained Tasman).
25 Uluaki Matatelea.
Fatafehi.
Uluaki Matata.
Tui Bulotulua.
Bau (who entertained Cook, 1777).
30 Maulubekotofa.
Fatafehi Fuanu Nulava.
Laufilitonga.

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[113]

II.—TRANSLATION of EXTRACTS from the 'Journal of the Wonderful Voyage made by W. Cornelis Schouten of Hoorn, 1615-17, in the ship Eendracht (Unity)': 1648, Hoorn (with Plates), relating to the discovery of Niua-tobutabu and Futuna.

May.—On the 9th we were in latitude 15° 20′, and by reckoning 1510 miles from the coast of Peru and Chili. At noon, just after dinner, we saw a sail, which seemed to be coming towards us from the southward. As she came near to us we shot at her with one of our pieces right over her to make them strike, but they would not; so then we lowered our boat with ten small-arms men in her to catch them, which, calling to them, we shot another piece, yet without any intent to reach or hurt them, but they would not strike.

[1616]

When at about half a musket-shot's distance from them our 175
men fired four times at them. Some jumped into the water, 177
one of them with a small child. We hauled one out of the
water, and another was hurt, and had three holes in his back,
but not very deep, for it was hail-shot. In our vessel we secured
two men who had overstayed on board the canoe, they not once
resisting, for in truth they had no arms. One was an old and
grey man, the other was a youth.

Presently the shallop rowed to fetch those that leapt overboard to save their lives; but they got only two of them that drove upon one of their oars, and pointed to our men with their hands to the ground, as much as to say that the rest were drowned.

In the canoe were eight women with three young sucking [501]
children, and some were about ten years old, so that altogether
there may have been about twenty-five people in the canoe.

Towards evening we put the men aboard again, and they were
much welcomed by their women. We gave them some beads,
which they hung about their necks, and some knives. And to
us they presented two fine mats and two cocoa-nuts, which were
all they had to eat and drink. In fact they had drunk all the
water of the nuts, so that there remained nothing more to them
to drink. We saw them drink salt water out of the sea, and
give it also to their young children to drink, which we thought
to be against nature. They were reddish people, and had [142]
certain clothes of a yellowish colour which they wore before [291]
their persons. They were smeared with oil, and the women had [302]
all short hair, like the men in Holland. The men's hair was
long and frizzed, and very black.

Their vessel was fashioned as shown in the drawing—very 175
remarkable to see—and consisted of two long canoes covered 501
by a good broad table. Along each canoe were laid two wide
planks, about the midship portion, to keep out the water; and
at either end timbers were laid crosswise from the one hull to
the other, securely lashed, and the ends were also decked over
in a watertight fashion. [Further description of mast and steer- 175
177

[1616]

175 177 ing-gear.] As they departed from us they set their course towards the south-east, in the hopes of picking up some of the others, who were good swimmers.

On the 10*th* the wind was S.S.-easterly, veering from S.E. to S. The course was W. and S.W.; and in the morning, after breakfast, we saw [on the horizon?] some very high and blue-looking land lying between S.E. and S., about eight miles from us. We sailed all day towards it with a light air, but were unable to get within reach, so stood off and on for the night; and towards evening we saw a sail a good way out off the land, and shortly after another one, which we took to be fishing craft, because they put to sea at night time and used torches.

133 *On the* 11*th* we arrived by mid-day at an island which was very high; and about two miles beyond it we saw another island, long and low. During the day we sailed over a bank with fourteen fathoms water on it, rocky bottom, lying about two miles off the land. As soon as we had passed over it we were unable again to get soundings. We anchored in twenty-five fathoms, sandy bottom, a long shot from the shore of the farther island.

[137] The island is a high mountain, shaped nearly like one of the Moluccas, and is covered with timber, mostly cocoa-nut palms, wherefore we called it Cocos Island.

The other island is much longer, but narrower, and lies east and west. . . .

175 177 [Intercourse with the people followed readily, and great numbers swarmed on board the ship. They traded freely, and sold 180 cocoa-nuts by evening, at the rate of 5 nuts for a few beads.]

[411] Canoes from the other island came off to the ship. The natives had hardwood staves in their hands like assegais. They boarded our shallop, and thought to have taken it from us; but our men being thereby constrained to defend themselves, let fly three muskets among them. At first they thought this was child's play; but the third shot struck one of them in the

[1616]

breast, and they fled to one of the canoes with sails and tried 175
to persuade them to attack, but they would not, having been 177
well used by us. They were very thievish and exceedingly de- [181]
sirous of iron, trying to draw the bolts out of the ship. They [141]
were of fine stature, well-proportioned, naked but for an apron. [291]
Their hair was dressed and frizzed, and some had long hair tied [302]
up in a knot. They were notable swimmers. Cocos Island [481]
lies in lat. 16° 10′. [131]

On the 12th, in the morning, trading was reopened. We bought 1200 nuts that day; also bananas, *obas* [yams], and some water. The ship had eighty-five people all told on board, and
every one had a dozen nuts. The king of the other island sent [136]
a canoe with a black wild pig as a present to us. In the after- 175
noon the chief himself came with a great sailing canoe, fashioned 177
as has been described heretofore, like an ice-sled, and was ac- 622
companied by quite thirty-five small canoes. This chief was
called by his people *Latou*.[1] We received him with drums [534]
and trumpets, no little to his astonishment, as he had not seen
or heard these instruments before. Many of the people who [609]
accompanied this chief kissed our feet, bowing and clapping their fists together over their heads, and other strange ceremonies, and showed great wonderment at our ship. The chief seemed to have good authority over his people. The chief himself could not be induced to come on board our ship, but his son did.

13*th*.—In the morning fully forty-five small canoes and an armada of twenty-three sailing ones came off towards us to
trade. The latter had about twenty-five men in each, and the [501]
former four and five apiece. They wanted us to sail over to the other island, and we weighed anchor and proceeded—the chief sailing in his canoe abreast of us.

Presently the chief made a signal, and boarded us with great 175
force, breaking the prow of his canoe, and thereat the rest began 177
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[1] *Latu* is still the title of the chief of Niua-tobutabu. *Cf.* Fijian title *Ratu*. 609

[1616]

175 to sling stones at us; but we shot at them with muskets and
177 three great pieces loaded with nails, whereat they leaped over-
622 board, not knowing whither to go. But we continued our course,
609 sailing W. and W. by S. This king must have assembled all
[142] his forces, for we were surrounded by quite 1000 people afloat,
of whom one we noticed was wholly white.

The first island—the high one—we called Cocos bergh, and to the other, about a mile from it, we gave the name of Verraders Eylandt, because the people from it sought to betray us.

[Discovery of Niuafoou.]

175 14*th.*—This morning we saw another island right ahead of us,
177 about seven miles distant, appearing as if round in form, and by
our reckoning about fifty miles from the islands we had left. We named this one "Hope," and hurried towards it, in the hope that we might find better facilities for watering there than we had hitherto.

. . . The soundings were irregular, forty, twenty, thirty fathoms, and no bottom. . . . Twelve canoes came off: were friendly. They gave us four flying-fish, and we gave them beads. Sent the boat along shore for water: some jumped overboard from canoes to capture the boat, which seeing, we fired six musket-shots at them, and two were killed, one shot dead, while the other sat in the canoe wiping the blood from his chest with his hand. They could not understand the shooting, for they saw no missile. The people on shore cried out *Bou! bou! bou!* So did people in the canoes. Finding no anchorage, we got our boat in and went on our course, in the hope of soon finding other land, to the S.W.

[133] The island was full of black cliffs, green on the top, and
[137] black, and was full of cocos-trees and black earth. There
[361] was a large village and several other houses on the sea-shore:
the land was undulating, but not very high. We called it Good Hope, because we had had good hope of refreshing there.

[1616]

15th.—At noon we were in 86° 12′ [misprint for 16° 12′]: 175
the wind being S.E., course W. and W. by S., fine weather. 177

17th.—Wind N.E., course W. by S., but the two last quarters we set our course W.N.W. Short of provisions.

18th.—In 16° 5′ we had variable westerly winds.

[On this day Schouten reviewed his position and prospects, 000
and spoke to his crew, pointing out the shortness of food, and the impossibility of returning eastwards. The Terra Australis, of which they were in search, had not appeared, though they were 1600 miles to the westward of the coast of Peru. It remained only to steer more northerly and make for the Moluccas, braving the dangers of the New Guinea navigation, and making the best of their ill luck. The course was therefore altered to N.N.W.]

[DISCOVERY OF FUTUNA.]

19th.—Southerly wind. Course N. In the afternoon saw 175
three islands to the N.E. by E., eight miles distant, and appar- 177
ently a cannon-shot from each other. Made for them, sailing N.E., with fine weather, but fresh.

20th.—Wind N.N.E.

21st.—Wind easterly. When one mile from the land twenty
canoes came out to us. We proffered friendliness, but one [411]
with a very sharp wooden spear in his hand threatened one of our men, and the people from the next island were shouting, as we took it, to urge them against us. Fired two cannon-shots. Sent boat out to sound, but got no bottom, eight small-arms men in her. A fight ensued, and six were killed. Stood off and on all night.

22d.—Sent the boat in to sound again, and got anchorage in thirty-five fathoms, a gun-shot from shore. The Captain went in the boat and got a convenient place for the ship to moor in, close
to a fresh-water creek inside the reef. Canoes came and brought [262]
cocoa-nuts, and *obas*, and two roast pigs. We paid them in

[1616]

175 knives, beads, and nails. We sent four of our men to be hos-
177 tages on shore, and kept some of the people in the ship. These
[181] people were very active, swam and dived with great skill, like
[342] those we met with at the other islands. There were round huts along the beach, thatched, about 25 feet in circumference, and 12 feet in height, with a doorway. . . .

[276] [The Journal contains the earliest published description of the drinking of kava, which coincides with the present ceremony. Peace was established, visits of ceremony paid, and
[131] cordial relations maintained. These islands lie in 14° 56′, and were named Hoorense Eylanden = Hoorn Island or Futuna.]

SUMMARY AS TO THE PLATES REPRODUCED IN THE TEXT.

[501] Plate on p. 312 shows the meeting with a native canoe at sea, off the islands they called Cocos (Niua-tobutabu), which lay just out of sight to their S.W.

[501]
[131] Plate on p. 310 shows the islands in question, which they sighted the morning after meeting with the canoe, but failed to reach until the following day—*i.e.*, Cocos and Verraders Islands: lat. 16° 10′. Here the ship's company had a collision with the natives. The chief's name was *Latou*.

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Plate on p. 311. This is a plate which represents several subjects described in the text all in one picture. The two chiefs are shown twice over, and the large figures on the left are introduced to illustrate the descriptions of various forms of head-dress. The trumpeters from the ship are blowing and the drummer beating, the four or five standing figures on the outside of the shed, to the left of the two chiefs sitting under it, are making kava, and the chiefs themselves conversing, all at once. The round or conical huts to the right are introduced merely as types of dwellings.

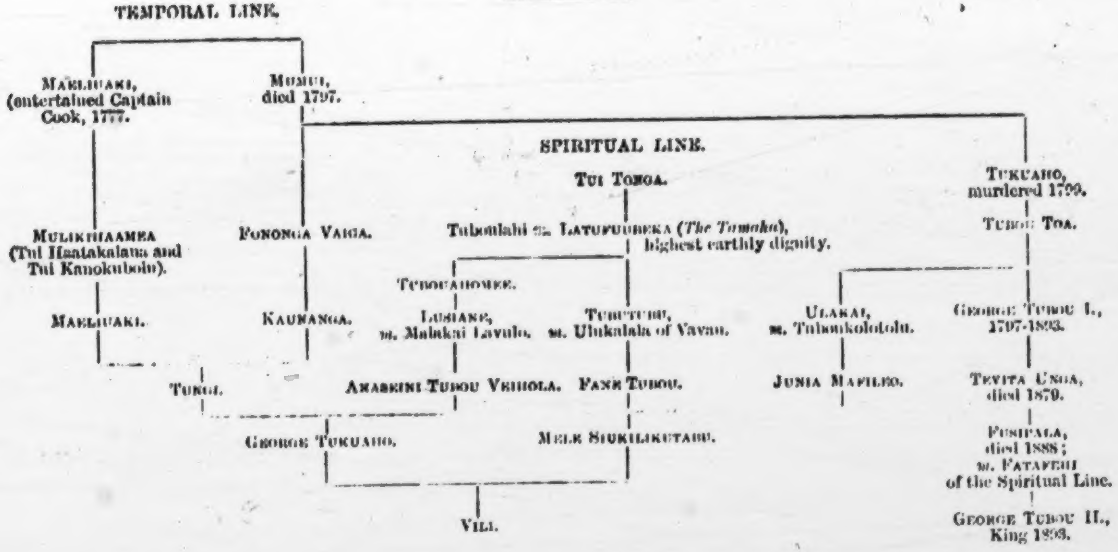
[1616]

Explanation of Plate on p. 311.

609
A. Meeting of the two chiefs, welcoming one another with 175 177
remarkable ceremony. [622]
B. The same two chiefs sitting in state together on two mats [516]
under a thatched shed. [344]
C. Our trumpeters and drummer playing before the chiefs,
from which they derived great satisfaction (or took as
a great compliment).
D. Commoners chewing a green root called by them kava. [276]
When it is chewed up water is added to it, and thus
a drink is made from it, which is greatly esteemed by
them.
E. Shows the fashion of the houses. They are round and [342]
pointed, and covered with thatch. [291]
F. Shows the costume of a chief, and coiffure. [301]
G G. Shows the plaits of hair worn by chiefs. [302] [622]
H. Shows an instance of frizzed hair. [142]
I. Another, whose hair stands up stiff like the bristles of a [302]
pig, more than a quarter of an ell long.
K. Shows how the women wear their hair cut short. [302]
L. Are cocoa-nut palms. [137]

[APPENDIX III.

III.—TABLE SHOWING GENEALOGY OF THE CHIEFS NEAREST TO THE THRONE OF TONGA.


TEMPORAL LINE.
MAEALIUAKI, (entertained Captain Cook, 1777.
MUMUI, died 1797.
SPIRITUAL LINE.
TUI TONGA.
TUKUAHO, murdered 1799.
TUBOU TOA.
MULIKIHAAMEA (Tui Haatakalaua and Tui Kanokubolu).
FONONGA VAIGA.
Tuboulahi m. LATUFUIBEKA (The Tamaha), highest earthly dignity.
TUBOUAHOMEE.
MAEALIUAKI.
KAUNANGA.
LUSIANE, m. Malakai Lavulo.
TUBUTUBU, m. Ulukalala of Vavau.
ULAKAI, m. Tubouokolotolu.
GEORGE TUBOU I., 1797-1893.
TUNGI.
ANASEINI TUBOU VEIHOLA.
FANE TUBOU.
JUNIA MAFILEO.
TEVITA UNGA, died 1879.
GEORGE TUKUAHO.
MELE SIUKILIKUTABU.
FUSIPALA, died 1888; m. FATAFEHI of the Spiritual Line.
VILI.
GEORGE TUBOU II., King 1893.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894 0U9 Tonga 0U9

175
601
643
622
565

INDEX.

000

Accession of King George, 356.
Action for slander, 209.
Ahomée, 97.
Assassination, 130.
Attack on Mr Baker, 6.
Audit, 118.

Bea, siege of, 358.
Birth, 374.
Birth-rate, 373.
Bolotu, 73.
Bounty, mutiny of, 82.
Budget, 62.
Bushrangers, 175.

Catechism, 207.
Cats, 386.
Cattle, 388.
Cave, Hunga, 178.
Census, 371.
Chairman of Committees, 267.
Chamber of Commerce, 165.
Charlotte, 19, 60.
Church squabbles, 153.
Cipher letter, 173.
Club subscription, 129.
Code, first, 221.
  " Baker's, 227.
  " draft, 229, 270.
Collection, missionary, 185.
Constitution granted, 223, 365.
Convicts, 105.
Cook, Captain, 313.
Copra, 133.
  " contract, 32, 43.
Court-martial, 36.
Courts, 100.
  " abuse of, 225.
Cricket, 150.
Croker, Captain, his death, 354.
Customs, debate on, 274.

Debt, 41.
Defalcations, 139.
Dillon, Peter, 347.
Dining-room, 260.
Dinners, political, 236.
Dogs, introduction of, 387.
D'Urville, 347.

Egeria, 41.
Elections, 237.
Erecting monuments, mode of, 381.
Erskine, Commodore, 199.
Estimates, 123.
European opposition, 44.
Exiles, 7, 19, 27.

Faikava, 51, 85.
Fakamisonali, 185.
Falcon Island, 84.
Fatafehi, 45, 61.
Favourite, H.M.S., rout of, 354.
Fiji, 318.

000

Finau Ulukalala, 169, 322, 339.
Flattery, 242.
Flirting, 116, 271.
Flying-foxes, 91.
Fono, 85, 93.
Forth, Mr J., 120.
Free Church, 5.

Haafova, 50.
Haapai, 50, 71.
Hansard, 277.
Hermit, 177.
High Commissioner, 1, 245.
Historical sketch, 2-10.
Hoho, 264.
Holy Tonga, 136.
Home, Sir Everard, 359.
Horses, 389.
Hostile press, 151.
Houma, siege of, 359.
Humility, mode of expressing, 30.

Illness of king, 239, 241.
Inaji, 313.

Jailer, 108.
Jails, 109.
Josiah, death of King, 355.
Junia Mafileo, 23, 124.

Kava, king's, 51.
" origin of, 55.
King, 56, 66.
" George, 342, 356, 362.
" of Fiji, 364.
King's campaign in Fiji, 364.
" pardon, 182.
" Speech, 250, 254.
Kubu, 95.

Laifone, 164.
Land laws, 230.
Language, 39.
Lawry, Rev. W., 344.
Laws, oppressive, 224.
Lawsuit against Government, 244.
Leave-taking, 282.
Legislation, 220.
Leprosy, 279.
Libel, 9.
Liberation of convicts, 20.
Liquor-selling, 166.
Lobase, 147.
Lord Chief-Justice, 97.
Lulu, 148.

Maafu, 361.
Macaliuaki, 28, 269.
Magic-lantern, 145.
Magistrate, Special, 101.
Malao, 391.
Manase, 168, 259, 268.
Mangaia labourers, 42.
Mariner's 'Tonga,' 51, 135.
Mary Butako's confession, 79.
Mataka, 50, 146, 257.
Mayors, 87.
Megapodius, 391.
Minister of Finance, 23, 90.
" Police, 95.
Missions, failure of, 217.
Mitchell, Sir C., 7, 8.
Monuments, 379.
Moss, 12.
Moulton, Rev. J. E., 213.
Mutinous Governor, 155.

Nuku, 94.
Nukualofa, 30.

Offices, Baker's, 16.
Opening of Parliament, 249, 251, 253.
Order of Prohibition, 14.
" in Council, 183.
Origin of Tui Kanokubolu, 301.

Palace, Vavau, 164.
Parrots, 391.
Persecution, 5, 7.
Peter Vi, 58.
Philately, 156.
Photographs, distribution of, 81.
Pigs, 383.
Plymouth Brethren, 143.
Poems, 378.
Police, 103, 112.
Population, 372.

000

Port-au-Prince, 333.
Postscript, 285.
Poultry, 386.
Prison, 106.
Privy Council, first, 68.
Profits of persecution, 29

Quarrels, missionary, 205.

Rapid, 1, 10, 14.
Rats, 382.
Raw fish, 60.
Respect for dignities, 232.
Revolution, 324.

Salaries, 235.
Sandal-wood, 65.
Sateki, 96, 149.
Schouten, 310.
Science, 138.
Seditious papers, 159.
Select Committee, 258, 275.
Sergeant-at-Arms, 252.
Shipping laws, 277.
Sion Hill, 251.
Slander from pulpit, 244.
Sleeping lords, 262.
Speaker, 256.
Spirit-room, 18.
Spy, 58.
Stamps, changing, 156.
Statue, 133.
Suicide rate, 172.

Tasman, 311.
Taufaahau, 15.
Thakombau, 364.
Thomas, Rev. J., 345.
Thomas, Mr Julian, 134.
Tofua, 50, 82.
Tongiaki, 308.
Tradition of Kau-ulu-fonua, 303.
Treasury Orders, 121.
  " Vavau, 181.
Treaties, 94, 368.
Tubou Niua, assassination of, 335.
Tubou-toa, 334.
Tui Haatakalaua, 305.
Tukuaho, 35, 38, 321.
Tutawi the hermit, 177.

Undergraduates, 49.
Unga, 3.

Vaea in flight, 47.
Vagabond, 134.
Vason, 326, 331.
Vavau, 161.
Vili Tai, 269.

Waitresses for Parliament, 248, 260.
War, 197, 352, 353.
Watkin, Rev. Mr, 5, 13, 88.
Wild Birds protection, 86.
Wilkes, Commodore, 199.
Women's College, 48.

THE END.

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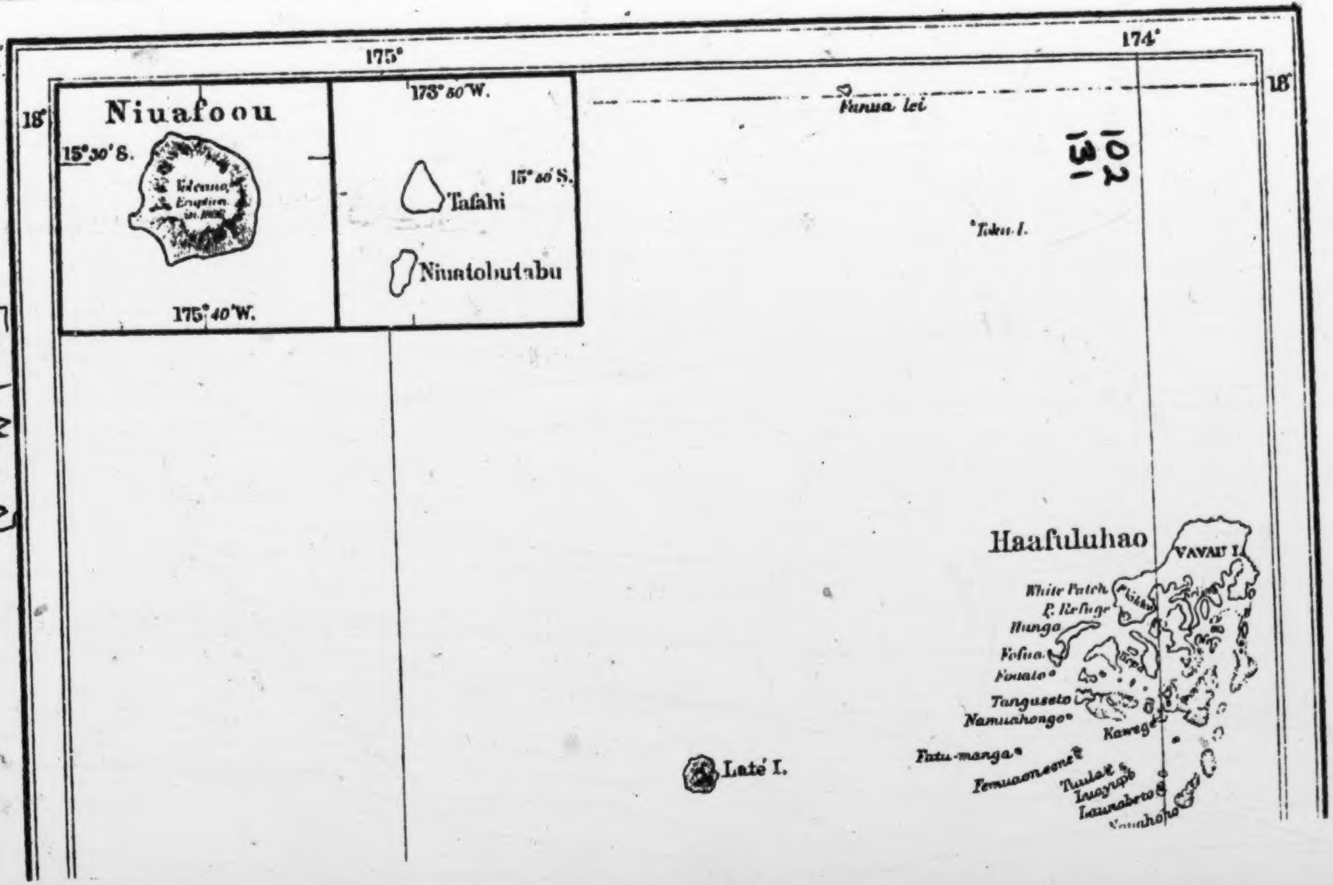
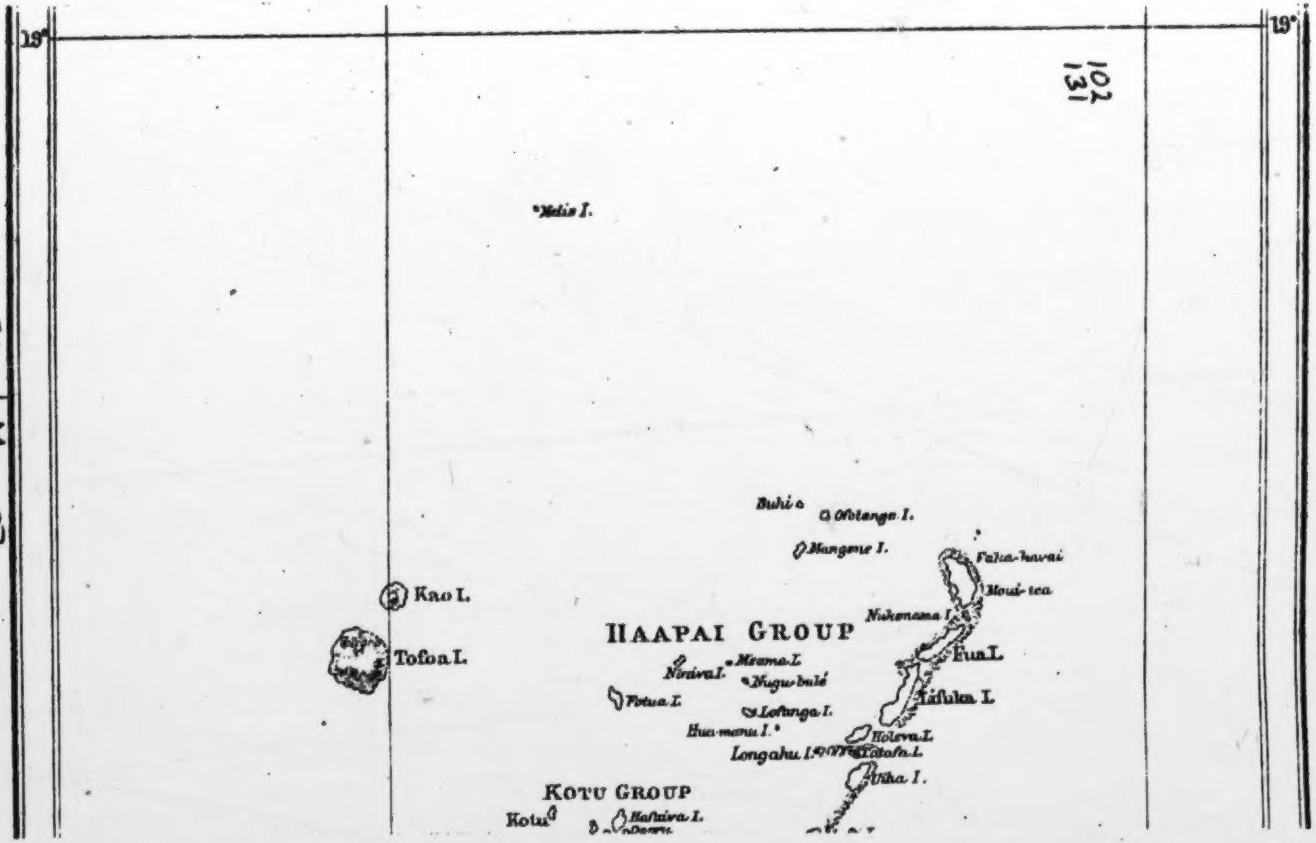
[End Map-A]



175°
174°
18'
Niuafoou
15°30'S.
Volcano Eruption in 1886
175°40'W.
173°50'W.
15°50'S.
Tafahi
Niuatobutabu
Funua lei
Toku I.
102
131
Haafuluhao
VAVAU I.
White Patch
P. Refuge
Hunga
Fofua
Fouato
Tanguseto
Namuahongo
Kawege
Futu-manga
Late I.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894

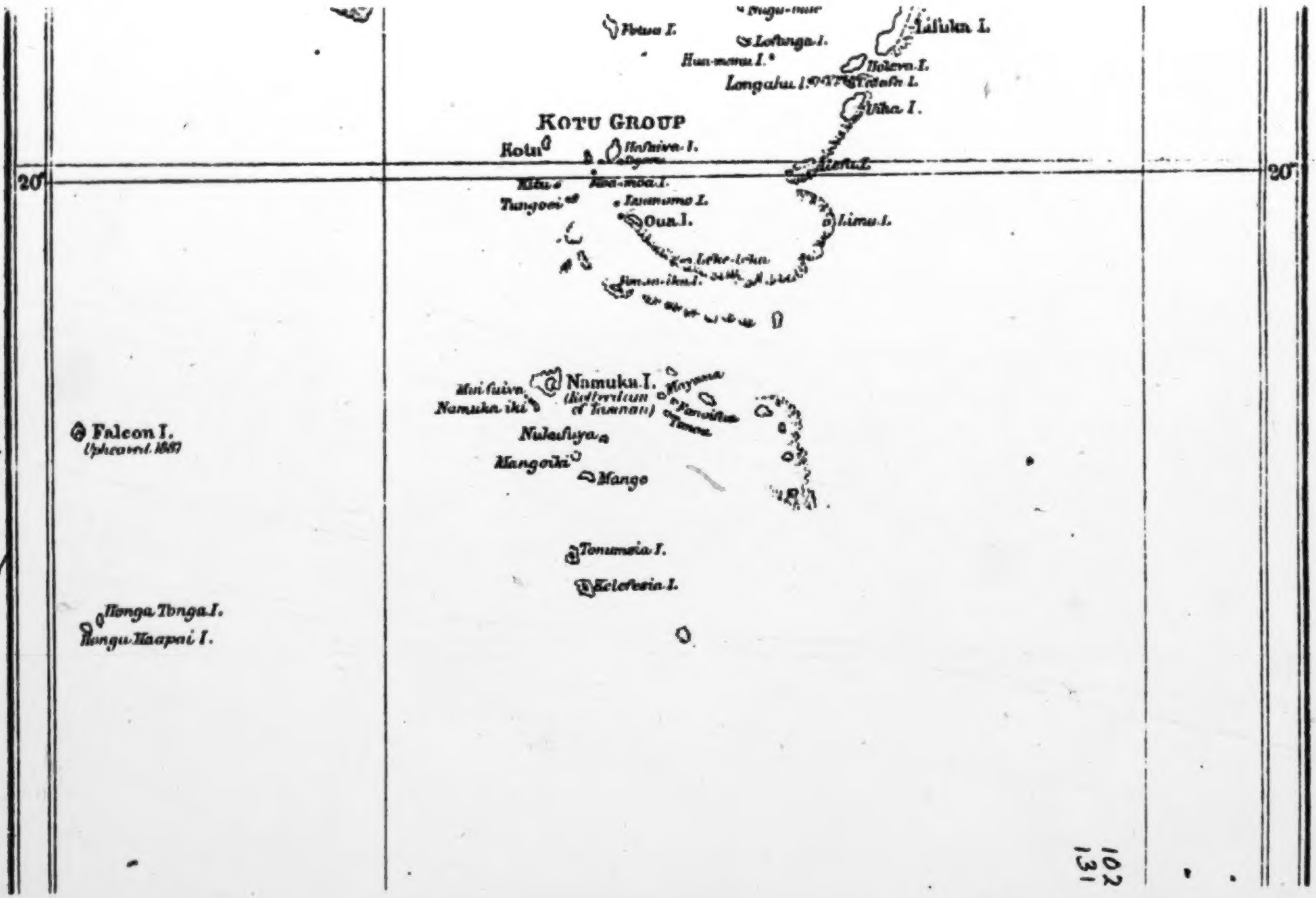
OU9 Tonga OU9


19°
19°
Metis I.
Kao I.
Tofoa I.
HAAPAI GROUP
Buhi
Ofolanga I.
Mangone I.
Faka-havai
Moui-tea
Nukunamo I.
Foa I.
Lifuka I.
Niniva I.
Meama I.
Nugu-bulé
Fotua I.
Lofanga I.
Hua-manu I.
Holeva I.
Longahu I.
Tatafa I.
Uiha I.
KOTU GROUP
Kotu
Haafeva I.

102
131

[End Map-B]

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9


20°
Fotua I.
Hunga-mar
Lofanga I.
Hun-mona I.
Lifuka I.
Holeva I.
Longalu I.
Tatafa I.
Uiha I.
KOTU GROUP
Kotu
Haafeva I.
Tanu-moa I.
Kitu
Tungoa
Lanumomo I.
Oua I.
Limu I.
Leke-leka
Fonua-iki I.
Namuka I.
(Rotterdam of Tasman)
Mui fuiva
Namuka iki
Mayana
Fanoifua
Tanoa
Nukufuya
Mangoiki
Mango
Falcon I.
Upheaved 1887
Tonumeia I.
Kelefesia I.
Honga Tonga I.
Honga Haapai I.
20°

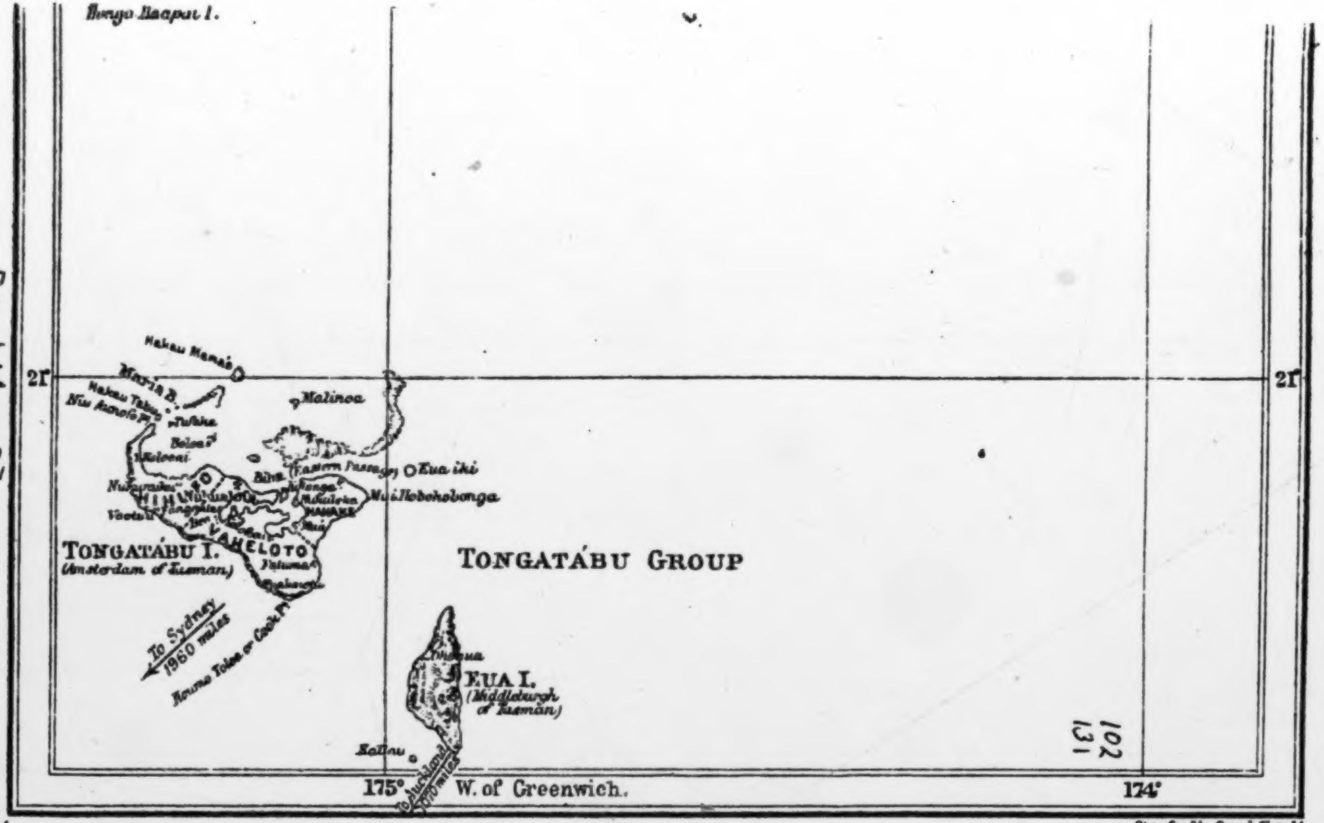
End Map-C

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894

OU9 Tonga OU9

102
131

[End Map-D]


Hunga Haapai I.
21°
21°
Hakau Mamao
Maria B.
Hakau Tabu
Niu Aunofo Pt.
Tufaka
Bolon
Kolooni
Malinoa
Eastern Passage
Eua iki
Nukunuku
HIHIFO
Nukualofa
Tangapila
Bea
VAHELOTO
HAHAKE
Mua
Mui Hoboboonga
Fatumu
TONGATÁBU I.
(Amsterdam of Tasman)
To Sydney 1960 miles
Rowne Tolas or Cook Pt.
TONGATÁBU GROUP
EUA I.
(Middleburgh of Tasman)
Kallau
To Auckland 1170 miles
175°
W. of Greenwich.
174°
102
131

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Stanford's Geogl Estabt

14: Thomson OU9 Tonga OU9

797

[For further information on Shirley Baker, the missionary, in his role as premier of Tonga, see Category 645.]

14: Thomson OU9 Tonga OU9

177

[For further information on social and cultural changes introduced by the missionaries in Tonga, see Category 797.]

14: Thomson

OU9 Tonga OU9

773

[For traditional history and mythology of Tonga, see Category 173, pp. 293-305.]

14: Thomson OU9 Tonga OU9

114
123

[For information on Thomson's role in Tonga, and for further information on his relations with the Tongans, see Category 645.]

14: Thomson

OU9 Tonga OU9

177

[For further information on social and cultural changes introduced by the missionaries in Tonga, see Category 797.]

14: Thomson OU9 Tonga OU9

773

[For traditional history and mythology of Tonga, see Category 173, pp. 293-305.]

14: Thomson

114
123

[For information on Thomson's role in Tonga, and for further information on his relations with the Tongans, see Category 645.]

14: Thomson OU9 Tonga OU9

671

[For further information on the substance and revisions of Tongan law under European influence, see the specifically relevant categories, such as 423 for land laws, 642 for constitutional law, etc. See also Category 177 for the influence of the Europeans.]